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Tibetan Buddhism in Ming China

A thesis presented

by

Hoong Teik Toh

to

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Tibetan Buddhism in Ming China

Abstract

This dissertation investigates the influences of Tibetan Buddhism in Ming China (1368-1644). It points out that in Ming China, there was an increased "Tibetanization" of India as well as an increased "Sinicization" of Tibetan monks. The first refers to the fact that Tibetan Buddhism was promoted to a status equal to Indian Buddhism and the sacred land of Buddhism was thus shifted from India to Tibet at a time when much of India had been conquered by Islamic forces. The second refers not to the fact that more and more Tibetans were sinicized culturally, but rather that the Chinese made up larger and larger proportion of the whole population of the so-called "Tibetan monks" in Ming China. That is to say, more and more "Tibetan monks" in China were in fact Chinese. The Chinese were attracted by Tibetan Buddhism mainly by its esotericism which they supposed had been less successfully transmitted from India to China in the past. In Ming times, the study of the Tibetan language and tantric formulae had become such a vogue that there were more and more Chinese who desired to be honored as "Tibetan masters". They bore Tibetan names and dressed like Tibetans. This was later forbidden by the Ming government and these "Tibetans" were banished to the borderlands, giving rise to a special class of lama diplomats

and lama spies—Chinese, Mongols and Manchus—on the frontiers who played a significant role in the Sino-Mongolian and Sino-Manchu military conflicts in the 16th-17th centuries. On the other hand, Tibetan pilgrims continued to be active in Zhejiang and her sacred islet Putuoshan—the famous site for the cult of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara—up until the late Ming. Another striking phenomenon of this period is what may be termed "religious duality" as displayed by the eunuch admiral Zheng He (1371-1435), who led the epoch-making seafaring campaigns via the South China Seas and the Indian Ocean in 1405-1433, and by Emperor Wuzong. Both were Muslim as well as Tibetan Buddhist.

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* I follow Prajñā's Chinese translation of the Samantabhadra prayer (於我常生歡喜心). The Khotanese version says basically the same thing (Jes Peter Asmussen's translation: "May I indeed not annoy them" etc.) whereas Amoghavajra's Chinese translation reads: "[May] I never feel impatient with them (於彼皆得無厭心)."

INTRODUCTION

This study does not aim to provide a comprehensive history of the development of Tibetan Buddhism in Ming China (1368-1644). Until more primary materials surface and more scholars well trained in Tibetology and Sinology come to recognize the significance of doing collaborative works on this subject, the conditions for undertaking such a task have yet to mature. Given the nature of the historical data available so far, however, it is possible to take a preliminary step in investigating the traces of Tibetan Buddhism on both cultural and political aspects of Ming history.

The Ming was chronologically sandwiched between two conquest dynasties, the Yuan and the Qing, respectively established by the Mongols and Manchus. A better knowledge of Tibetan Buddhism in post-Mongolian and pre-Manchu China—of which our knowledge is hitherto regrettably limited—may provide new insight in issues pertaining to Tibetan Buddhism in the Mongolian and Manchu periods. Although dealing with the post-Mongol and pre-Manchu period, some reading knowledge of non-Chinese languages proves to be of significant help to better understand—sometimes, even to discover—crucial materials in Chinese. For example, without some knowledge of the Mongolian language and of Tibetan sources, the Chinese biography of Zhu Di's advisor Yuan Gong will

simply appear meaningless and we should never know that it contains the single piece of information concerning a special Tibetan religious practice in Zhejiang.[1]

The Chinese term for Tibetan Buddhism frequently encountered in Ming sources is *Fanjiao* 番教 (Tibetan religious teachings or religious cults). For instance, a *Ming Shilu* (MSL) entry for October 17, 1487 reads:

> 上傳陞大慈恩等寺法王、佛子、國師等職四百三十七人，及剌麻人等共七百八十九人; 光祿寺日供應下程并月米，及隨從館夫、軍校，動以千計; 多誘中國軍民子弟，收以爲徒。請一切禁革，命法王、佛子降國師，國師降禪師，禪師降都綱，自講經以下革職爲僧，各遣回本土、本寺或邊境居住，仍追奪誥勅、印信、儀仗，并應還官物件。內降職留爲大慈恩等寺主持者五人，革職留隨住者十人。其漢人習學番教者，不拘有無官職、度牒，俱發回原衛有司當差。如隱冒鄉貫，自首改正者，許換與度牒。[2]
>
> Promoted under His Majesty (Emperor Xianzong), those residing in monasteries such as the Da Ci'en monastery etc. who hold the positions of *fawang* ("Dharma king"), *fozi* ("Buddha-son"), *guoshi*

[1] See 3.1.

[2] MSL 51: 56-57.

("state preceptor") etc. total 437, and the lamas total 789 (Ch. *lamaren*, lit., "the *lama* men"). The Guanglusi (Court of Imperial Entertainment) provides them with daily transport and monthly rice supply. The number of their menial attendants and military escorts is oftentimes counted in thousands. Many of them entice sons of Chinese militia and civilians, taking them as religious disciples. [Now we] petition [Your Majesty] (Emperor Xiaozong) to have all this forbidden and abrogated; and to decree that the *fawang* and *fozi* be demoted to *guoshi*, *guoshi* to *chanshi* (Chan master), *chanshi* to *dugang* (discipline overseer), and the *jiangjing* (scripture lecturer) and below be discharged and sent back to their native land, native monasteries or to remote borderlands; and have them relinquish the edicts, seals and insignias [they hold], together with other items that should be surrendered to the court. Five from among the demotees are retained as abbots (*zhuchi*) of the Da Ci'en monastery etc., and ten from among the dismissed as associates in residence (*suizhu*). As for the Chinese who have learned to practise the Tibetan teachings (*fanjiao*), regardless of whether they hold an official position and a permit to become a monk (*dudie*), they should without any exception be sent back to serve under the Guards (*wei*) to which they originally belong.

> Those who report their having claimed false nativity should be granted a permit to become a monk.

The word *lamajiao* 喇嘛教 "Lamaism" came to be used conventionally to refer to Tibetan Buddhism only in the Qing period. However, for the sake of brevity, we use the term "lama" (< Tib. *bla ma*) in this study to refer loosely to Buddhist monks (Tibetans and non-Tibetans alike) who practised Tibetan Buddhism as it is used in Ming sources.

The notion of "Tibet" or "Tibetan" in Ming times is intriguing. An MSL entry for January 21, 1488 mentions "the Sangs rgyas ba ("Buddha"), the Rulai Dasheng (sic.) Fawang from India (Xitian), Dbus-Gtsang" (烏思藏西天桑加瓦如來大乘法王).[3] How could "India" be used appositionally with "Dbus-Gtsang" (Tibet) since India and Tibet were, and are, not the same? Quite surprisingly, none of the previous studies on Sino-Tibetan politico-religious relations during the Ming dynasty pays any attention to this issue. In fact, without at first clarifying this, we shall not be able to understand our data properly, let alone use them effectively. As will be shown in this study, "India" was gradually made equal to "Tibet" in post-Mongol China because, at least for those in China, Tibet had replaced India as the sacred land of Buddhism. Therefore some Chinese monks even traveled to Tibet to study

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[3] MSL 51: 187. The title 如來大乘法王 seems to be an error for 如來大寶法王.

Buddhism and to qualify themselves as "Tibetan monks" so that, when they returned, they would be much revered by devout Buddhists. Although there were Chinese scholars who condemned Tibetan Buddhism, they did so not on account of Tibetan Buddhism not being the genuine form of Indian Buddhism. Those who rejected Tibetan Buddhism rejected Buddhism as well. For instance, Yan Congjian (16^{th} century) criticized Tibetans, Buddhism, and the Chinese who traveled to Tibet by such caustic remarks:

> 愚謂釋迦以空爲宗，則視色形之著、倫物之類，皆非其所愛惜者，乃忍於戕滅而不顧。故番族群醜，亦每每自相讎殰，又何有中國生靈乎。然則佛氏禪機之秘，毋乃殺機之伏，而漢武玉門之通，其殆禍門之闢也哉。凡高明之士乘博望之槎而以殊俗記獻者，毋曰西方聖人，我履其地、親炙其教而侈爲之說可也。[4]

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[4] Yan Congjian 嚴從簡, *Shuyu zhouzi lu* 殊域周諮錄, Taibei: Taiwan Huawen Shuju, 1968, p. 506. Later, the Manchu authority also condemned the Tibetans (but not Buddhism) in a much similar way, as found in the *Pingding Jinchuan fanglue* 平定金川方略: *kemuni tanggût ursei ishunde afara wandurengge, ceni banin tuttu, cooha be suilabure de salirakû.* "As for the Tibetan people's mutually attacking and killing [among themselves], their nature is as such. It is not worthy of troubling [our] army [to pacify them]." (cited from Hu Zengyi et al., *Xin Man-Han dacidian / Ice manju nikan gisun kamcibuha buleku bithe*, Urumci: Xinjiang Renmin Chubanshe, 1994, p. 625)

> I think that [since] Śākyamuni adhered to the principle of emptiness, he regarded things with tangible forms and creatures of his fellow species as what not to be cared for, thus being ruthlessly unconcerned about their being demolished. That is why the Tibetans always slaughter vengefully among themselves. How can [we expect] there be care [among the Tibetan Buddhists] for the living beings in China? That being so, does not in the secret of Buddhist repartee (*chanji*) lie the mood of killing (*shaji*) and was not indeed crossing the Yumen Pass [to the western regions] under Han Wudi (r.141B.C.-87B.C.) broaching the gate to disaster? For all excellent scholars who were ever on mission to travel westwards and record exotic customs, it is advisable not to say, "I have stepped on the land of the Western Sage and have been directly warmed by his teaching," and talk extravagantly about it.

It is also remarkable that Yan Congjian refers to Tibet as "the land of the Western Sage (i.e. Śākyamuni)".

There were also distinguished Ming scholars who highly viewed, or at least showed personal interest in, Tibetan Buddhism. Previous studies seem to place too much emphasis on the conflicts between Tibetan monks and Chinese scholar-

officials.[5] It is time to provide a more complete picture of the religious atmosphere of this interesting period.[6]

In Chapter One, we shall demonstrate the important fact overlooked by Paul Pelliot and Kanda Kiichirō that the Indian Office (Xitianguan) of the Ming Foreign Offices (Siyiguan) was a mere duplication of the Tibetan Office (Xifanguan). In this chapter, I will also include a brief discussion of the Chinese translation of the *Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṃgīti*, a text prefaced by the Yongle emperor and used in the Indian Office. We shall also trace the process of how Tibet was regarded first as India Minor (Xiaoxitian) and later displaced India as India Major (Daxitian).

Chapter Two focuses on the first two Ming emperors and the Sino-Tibetan tensions in the second half of the 14th century. We shall also pay attention to the somewhat puzzling Tibetan connections in the legends of the deposed Jianwen emperor.

We shall reveal in Chapter Three the fact that the Yongle emperor's strategists in the 1400-1402 civil war included religious figures and one of them practiced Bon po physiognomy. In this chapter too, we shall offer a critical

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[5] Satō Hisashi, "Mintei ni okeru Ramakyō sūhai ni tsuite", *Oryō Shigaku* 8 (1982): 109-138; Otosaka Tomoko, *Ban'i no ō, kokatsu no sō* (Heisei 8.9.10-nendo Kagaku Kenkyuhi Hokojin Hokokusho), ?: 1998.

[6] See 4.3.

account of the emperor's relationships with several Tibetan hierarchs.[7] The Japanese scholar Otosaka Tomoko hypothesized that the promotion of Tibetan Buddhism introduced by the Yongle emperor aimed to flaunt the imperial authority at the expense of the Confucian bureaucracy.[8] In this chapter, we propose that the Yongle emperor's affinity with Tibetan Buddhism was largely due to his Mongolian cultural and military background in his former princedom in Beijing.

We shall see in Chapter Four that, because Tibetan Buddhism had a significant place in the religious life of the Ming royal house (as well as among eunuchs) and because this "barbarian" practice was part of the Yuan heritage, later emperors actually faced pressure from the bureaucrats (who regarded

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[7] For previous studies, see Satō Hisashi, "Mindai Chibetto no haci tai kyō-ō ni tsuite", in *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 21 (1962): 51-70, 22 (1963): 79-101, 22 (1964): 74-89. E. Sperling, "The 5th Karma-pa and Some Aspects of the Relationship between Tibet and the Early Ming", in Michael Aris and Aung San Suu Kyi eds., *Tibetan Studies in Honour of Hugh Richardson*, Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1980, pp. 280-289; "The 1413 Ming Embassy to Tsong-kha-pa and the Arrival of Byams-chen Chos-rje Shākya Ye-shes at the Ming Court", *Journal of the Tibet Society* 2 (1982): 105-108; *Early Ming Policy Toward Tibet: An Examination of the Proposition that the Early Ming Emperors Adopted a "Divide and Rule" Policy Toward Tibet*, Ph.D. Thesis from Indiana University, 1983; "Did the Early Ming Emperors Attempt to Implement a 'Divide and Rule' Policy in Tibet?" E. Steinkellner and T. Tauscher eds., *Contributions on Tibetan Languages, History and Culture*, Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien, 1983.

[8] Otosaka Tomoko, "Eiraku gonen 'Gyosei Reikokuji tōeiki' o megutte—Minchō ni yoru Chibetto Bukkyō dōnyū no ichi sokumen", in *Nihon Seizō Gakkai Kaihō* 41-42 (1997): 11-21.

Tibetan monks and eunuchs as a political alliance that impeded their communication with the emperors) and occasionally had to tone down their patronage of Tibetan Buddhism. The actual relationship between the Ming emperors and Tibetan Buddhism was the imperial secret which was only partially known by the outer court.

Chapter Four also examines the rise of a class of lama diplomats and lama spies (mostly non-Tibetan: Chinese, Mongols and, later, Manchus) on the Sino-Mongolian and Sino-Manchu frontiers in post-Yongle times. It also shows that the cult of Avalokiteśvara continued to have political implications and how a Chinese *gter ma* text surfaced on the eve of the Manchu conquest.

Chinese and Tibetan writers had different concerns and focuses in their writings due to a different mentality and cultural tradition. It is always not easy to find places where Chinese and Tibetan records intersect. For instance, Tibetan writers had little interest to inform us about the presence, let alone the activities, of non-Tibetan monks who practised Tibetan Buddhism. Concerning Tibetan pilgrimages to China's sacred Buddhist sites, Tibetan sources mention frequently Wutaishan and occasionally Emeishan, but never Putuoshan. The presence of Tibetan pilgrims on the Putuoshan island is, however, borne out in Chinese sources.[9] In addition, when a Tibetan biography (*rnam thar*) mentions that the protagonist had been to Wutaishan, it is still not altogether clear to us whether we

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[9] See 3.1.

ought to take it *prima facie*. Therefore when we read that the 'Bri gung abbot Dbang Rin chen dpal gyi rgyal mtshan was said to have fled to Wutaishan, it seems safer to assume that what we are being informed of here is that he ended up as a recluse somewhere in China, not necessarily in Wutaishan.[10] Elsewhere, we read that Stag tshang ras pa Ngag dbang rgya mtsho's (1574-1651) visit to Wutaishan took place in a dream.[11] Sahajaśrī's visit to Wutaishan even took place after his physical death.[12] To use religious sources effectively for historical research is always a difficult task.

Sometimes, traces of Tibetan Buddhism are hidden in unexpected places. The best example is that of the *Xiyouji* (*Journey to the West*), one of the four greatest classical novels in Chinese history. An artistic work as this can provide us with rich historical information not found elsewhere. I have singled out only the most important points in this study.[13]

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[10] E.g., *Miscellaneous writings of 'Bri gung chos rje Kun dga' rin chen*, Leh: Tashigangpa, 1972, p. 156: *[... ...] bros te rgya nag ri bo rtse lnga'i phyogs su byon nas sgrub pa mdzad pas/ tshe'i rig 'dzin brnyes ste deng sang gi bar du yang bzhugs zhes so//* Cf. E. Sperling, "Did the Early Ming Emperors Attempt to Implement a 'Divide and Rule' Policy in Tibet?" p. 350, "Some Notes on Early 'Bri-gung-pa Sgom-pa", in Christopher Beckwith ed., *Silver on Lapis: Tibetan Literary Culture and History*, Bloomington: Tibet Society, 1987, p. 48.

[11] See Appendix in Chapter One, note 10.

[12] See 2.2.

[13] See 1.2.7.

To be sure, much room is still left for other scholars to pursue the topic of Tibetan Buddhism during the Ming period and I hope they will find the materials presented in this study useful. Although many of the data extracted from Ming sources (other than the *Ming shilu*) are used for the first time in a study of this kind, our major sources are still those which are not unfamiliar to researchers working on this subject. A list of these, with the abbreviations used in this study, is given below.

AT Charles Bawden. *The Mongol Chronicle Altan Tobči*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1955.

BB Kun dga' grol mchog. *Rig ldan chos kyi rgyal po byang bdag rnam rgyal grags bzang gi rnam par thar pa rab bsngags snyan pa'i 'brug sgra*. Lanzhou: Kan su'u zhing chen grangs nyung mi rigs kyi gna' dpe dag sgrig gzhung las khang dang kan lho bod sman zhib 'jug khang, 1985.

BD Ngag dbang Blo bzang rgya mtsho (Dalai Lama V). *Bod kyi deb ther dpyid kyi rgyal mo'i glu dbyangs*. Varanasi: Kalsang Lhundup, 1967.

BDPC *Bo dong paṇ chen gyi rnam thar*. Ed. by Chab spel Tshe brtan phun tshogs et al. Lhasa: Xizang Zangwen Guji Chubanshe, 1991.

CPH Dharmatāla. *Chen po hor gyi yul du dam pa'i chos ji ltar dar ba'i tshul gsal bar brjod pa pad ma dkar po'i phreng ba*. New Delhi : Sharada Rani, 1977.

DD Mtshal pa Si tu Kun dga' rdo rje. *Deb ther dmar po*. Annotated by Dung dkar Blo bzang 'phrin las. Beijing: Minzu Chubanshe, 1981.

DDG Bsod nams grags pa. *Deb ther dmar po gsar ma*. Reproduced by Giuseppe Tucci (Serie Orientale Roma XXIV). Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1971.

DS 'Gos lo tsā ba Gzhon nu dpal. *Deb ther sngon po*. Reproduced by Lokesh Chandra. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1974.

ET Minoru Gō, I. de Rachewiltz, J. Krueger, B. Ulaan eds. *Erdeni-yin tobči: a Mongolian Chronicle of 1662*. Canberra: Faculty of Asian Studies, The Australian National University, 1990-1.

GSWS Ren Chongyue 任崇岳. *Gengshen Waishi* 庚申外史箋證. Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou Guji Chubanshe, 1991.

JN Ngag dbang blo gros grags pa. *Dpal ldan jo nang pa'i chos 'byung rgyal ba'i chos tshul gsal byed zla ba'i sgron me*. Ed. by Btsan lha Ngag dbang tshul khrims and She Wanzhi. Lhasa: Zhongguo Zangxue Chubanshe, 1992.

KK *Karma Kaṃ tshang brgyud pa rin po che'i rnam thar rab 'byams nor bu zla ba chu shel gyi phreng ba'i kha skong ldeb*. In *Ta'i si tu pa Kun mkhyen Chos kyi 'byung gnas bstan pa'i nyin byed kyi bka' 'bum* Vol. 11. India: Palpung Sungrab Nyamso Khang, 1990.

LR Rta tshag Tshe dbang rgyal. *Dam pa'i chos kyi byung ba'i legs bshad lho rong chos 'byung ngam rta tshag chos 'byung zhes rtsom pa'i yul ming du chags pa'i ngo mtshar zhing dkon pa'i dpe khyad par can*. Ed. by Gling dbon Padma skal bzang and Ma grong Mi 'gyur rdo rje. Lhasa: Zangwen Guji Chubanshe, 1994.

M Raghu Vira ed. *Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṃgīti in Mongolian, Tibetan, Sanskrit and Chinese*. New Delhi : International Academy of Indian Culture, 1960s.

MD Dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas. *Yul mdo smad kyi ljongs su thub bstan rin po che ji ltar dar ba'i tshul gsal bar brjod pa deb ther rgya mtsho*. Reproduced by Lokesh Chandra as *The Ocean Annals of Amdo*. New Delhi: Sharada Rani, 1973.

MGMS Eldengtei-Oyun Dalai ed. *Menggu mishi jiaokanben* 蒙古秘史校勘本. Hohhot: Neimenggu Renmin Chubanshe, 1980.

MM *Ma mo rtsa ba'i rgyud 'bum tig gi skor*. In *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum*. Vol. 31. Thimbu: Dingo khyentse rimpoche, 1973-1975.

MPDS Dpa' bo Gtsug lag phreng ba. *Dam pa'i chos kyi 'khor lo bsgyur ba rnams kyi byung ba gsal bar byed pa mkhas pa'i dga' ston*. Ed. by Rdo rje rgyal po. Beijing: Renmin Chubanshe, 1986.

MS *Mingshi* 明史. Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1974.

MSL *Ming shilu* 明實錄. Nangang: Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, 1966.

PPL *'Phags pa lha sku phreng rim byon*. In Bod ljongs srid gros lo rgyus rig gnas dpyad gzhi'i rgyu cha u yon lhan khang ed. *Bod kyi lo rgyus rig gnas dpyad gzhi'i rgyu cha bdams bsgrigs* 9. Beijing: Renmin Chubanshe, 1995.

QMW Qian Bocheng 錢伯誠 et al eds. *Quan Ming wen* 全明文. Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 1992.

R Anonymous. *Rab brtan kun bzang 'phags kyi rnam par thar pa dad pa'i lo thog dngos grub kyi char 'bebs*. Lhasa: Xizang Renmin Chubanshe, 1987.

RB Dpal 'byor bzang po. *Rgya bod kyi yig tshang mkhas pa dga' byed chen mo 'dzam gling gsal ba'i me long*. Chengdu: Sichuan Minzu Chubanshe, 1985.

RN Mgon po skyabs. *Rgya nag chos 'byung*. Chengdu: Sichuan Minzu Chubanshe, 1983.

SD Sgrol dkar et al., *Xizang lishi dang'an huicui* 西藏歷史檔案薈粹, Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe, 1995.

SL Stag lung Ngag dbang rnam rgyal. *Stag lung chos 'byung*. Ed. by Chab spel Tshe brtan phun tshogs et al. Lhasa: Xizang Zangwen Guji Chubanshe, 1992.

T *x.y: z* T = *Taishō shinshu daizokyō*, *x* = serial no., *y* = volume no., *z* = page no.

YL Yar lung Jo bo Shākya rin chen sde. *Yar lung chos 'byung*. Lhasa: Xizang Renmin Chubanshe, 1988.

YR Rdzi bo Rig pa rang shar. *Rdzogs chen yang rtse lta ba thog dbab rtsa 'grel.* Dolanji, H.P.: Tibetan Bonpo Monastic Centre, 1974-77.

YRKC Gzhod ston Dngos grub grags 'bar. *Bla med rdzogs pa chen po yang rtse klong chen gyi khrid gzhung cha lag dang bcas pa'i gsung pod.* Reproduced by Sherab Wangyal. New Thobgyal: Tibetan Bonpo Monastic Centre, 1973.

YS *Yuanshi* 元史. Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1976.

Zx.y:z Z = *Dai Nihon manji zoku zōkyō* 大日本卍字續藏經. Tokyo: 1986. *x* = serial no., *y* = volume no., *z* = page no.

ZGMZ1 *Zongguo Mizong Dadian* 中國密宗大典. Beijing: Zhongguo Zangxue Chubanshe, 1993.

ZGMZ2 *Zhongguo Mizong Dadian bubian* 中國密宗大典補編. Beijing: Zhongguo Zangxue Chubanshe, 1993.

CHAPTER ONE

Tibet's "India~Tibet" Duality in Ming Writings

To begin at the beginning, we should ask such fundamental questions as: How did the Ming Chinese perceive Tibet? How did they designate Tibet and Tibetans? In this chapter, we shall examine the Ming notion of Tibet vis-à-vis that of India, beginning with a survey of the so-called "Indian Office" and "Tibetan Office" of the Ming government. As we shall see, this will reveal to us, to some extent, the impact of Tibetan Buddhism on the Chinese in the post-Mongolian era.

1.1 The Mystery of the Indian Office

1.1.1 The Indian Office (Xitianguan)

The Indian Office (Xitianguan 西天館) and the Tibetan Office (Xifanguan 西番館)—both belonging to the Ming Foreign Offices (Siyiguan 四夷館) which, in turn, were subordinate to the National Academy or the Hanlinyuan 翰林院—were set up in 1407 to train translators of the Indian and Tibetan languages for diplomatic purposes.[1]

[1] *Ming huidian* 明會典, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1989, p. 1097. In Ming times, there were also Tibetan monks who served as translators for the Hanlin Academy, see MSL 31: 3936 (the entry for 景泰元年四月丙子).

When Wang Zongzai 王宗載 was appointed Superintendent (*tidu* 提督) of the Foreign Offices in 1578, he was surprised to find that the only text studied by the officers of the Indian Office was the *Manjuśrī-nāma-saṃgīti* (*Zhenshimingjing* 真實名經) in Tibetan (*fanwen* 番文), a language which did not correspond to that used in actual diplomatic communications with India. This rendered the Indian Office redundant.[2] Wang Zongzai lamented: "I do not know why only this was taught and studied [since the time] when the office was established. This is a matter to be looked into further."[3] The Japanese scholar Kanda Kiichirō took Wang Zongzai's remarks as indicating the decline of the Foreign Offices in the Wanli period.[4] This, we must say, is incorrect, since Wang Zongzai stated explicitly that the situation was already so "when the office was established" (*dangshi kaiguan*), that is, in the fifth year of Yongle (1407). In other words, from the early fifteenth century up to the late sixteenth century, within a period of about a hundred years, there was only one textbook being used by the translators who were trained in the Indian Office and the textbook was a Buddhist text, namely, the *Zhenshimingjing*! Here, we should bear in mind that:

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[2] 不可通於文移往來，似屬贅疣。

[3] 不知當時開館傳習，何以止此，此當再考者也。

[4] Kanda Kiichirō 神田喜一郎, "Min no Shiikan ni tsuite", in *Kanda Kiichirō zenshū* I, Kyoto: Dōhōsha, 1983, pp. 22-23, cf. Fang Guoyu 方國瑜, *Yunnan shiliao mulu gaishuo* 雲南史料目錄概說, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1984, pp. 462-466.

(1) In Ming times, the term *fanwen* might refer to any foreign language / script in general as well as to the Tibetan language / script in particular. In the present case, the foreign language in question seems to be Tibetan, as we shall see below.

(2) The Indian state that had temporary diplomatic relations with Ming China was "Eastern India" (Dong Tianzhu 東天竺) or Bengal (Banggela 榜葛剌). This was a result of Zheng He's (1371-1435) maritime expedition in the first decade of the fifteen century. Zheng He's informants had already noted that the people in Bengal were all Muslims and the languages used there were Bangali (Banggeli 榜葛里) and Farsi (Ba'erxi 吧兒西).[5] The letters sent to China from Bengal might very well have been in Farsi which was more widely used than Bangali. Any documents from Bengal should therefore have been entrusted to the Persian Office (Huihuiguan 回回館) for translation. However, since Bengal was the "Eastern India", the documents were handed over to the Indian Office. The language of the *Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṃgīti*, be it Sanskrit or Tibetan, was certainly not Farsi. This, as one can easily imagine, was something that Wang Zongzai could never understand. This problem of the Indian Office has a very profound implication which escaped the notice of sinologists who published on the Ming Foreign Offices such as Paul Pelliot and Kanda Kiichirō.

[5] Ma Huan 馬歡, *Yingya shenglan* 瀛涯勝覽 (*Jilu huibian* 紀錄彙編 edition), 12: 38b.

How can we be sure that the *Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṃgīti* used in the Indian Office was in Tibetan? An entry in the *Ming Veritable Records*, where we learn about the event retold below, should lead us to this conclusion.

On August 16, 1626, a Tibetan pilgrim was arrested in Shifang'an 十方庵 (a Buddhist temple in Beijing)[6] because he was suspected to have been a spy sent by the Manchus.[7] The permit (*piwen* 批文) carried by the Tibetan monk was issued in Sichuan and stated that "Jiahawa (口賈 哈 口呙 < Tib. *Rgya gar ba*[8], lit., "an Indian"), the *arhat* from India Major (*Daxitian luohan* 大西天羅漢), wishes to visit sacred mountains, temples and monasteries in China". The monk carried with him a Buddhist scripture, the title of which is not given in our record.[9]

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[6] This was the very temple that had become embroiled in the political strife between the scholar-officials and the powerful eunuch Wei Zhongxian 魏忠賢 which resulted in the gross miscarriage of justice during which the Yangzhou prefect 揚州知府 Liu Duo 劉鐸 was unjustly executed in 1626 (see MSL 132: 3593). Wei Zhongxian himself, however, could not escape justice and committed suicide in 1627.

[7] Sending lama-spies was a very common practice among the Chinese, Mongols and Manchus in the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries, see 4.2.

[8] Cf. Hashiha'er 哈實哈兒 for Kashghar (MSL 12: 1247), Nu'erhachi 奴兒哈赤 for Nurgaci, Halima 哈立麻 for Karma.

[9] Tibetan monks who traveled to Chinese cities usually carried with them Buddhist scriptures, as reported by Wen Zhenheng 文震亨 (1585-1645) in the *Changwuzhi* 長物志 (*Yanyun yibian* 硯雲乙編 VII), 7: 13b:

Translators from the Indian Office were sent to examine the Tibetan monk who was asked to read the *Manjuśrī-nāma-saṃgīti* used in the Indian Office. It was a great relief to the nonplussed *arhat* when he found the text was in Tibetan (*fanzi* 番字) and he recited the text with great ease. The translators immediately identified him as being "truly Tibetan" (*shi xi Xifan* 實系西番).[10] It is

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常見番僧佩經，或皮袋，或漆匣，大方三寸，厚寸許，匣外兩傍有耳，繫繩佩服。中有經文，更有貝葉金書彩畫天魔變相，精巧細密，斷非中華所及。

I often see Tibetan monks carrying with them scriptures [which are put] either in a leather bag or a painted box. [The box is] three inches broad and more than one inch thick. [Onto] the earlike handles on both exterior sides of the box is tied a cord [with which the box is] fastened [to the monk's robe]. In the box, there are scriptures or even palm-leaf texts written in golden ink as well as colorful illustrations of heavenly deities. To be sure, no Chinese [paintings] are as delicate and fine as they are.

[10] MSL 132: 3562-3563:

巡視南城御史王特英盤獲番僧於廣寧門外十方庵，頭結黃髮，面目異嘗 (= 常. The Guangzong emperor's name was Zhu Changluo 朱常洛, so that *chang* 常 became a taboo at that time, cf. Yang Shicong 楊士聰, *Yutang huiji* 玉堂薈記, in *Qingdai jinhuishu congkan diyiji* 清代禁燬書叢刊第一輯, Taibei: Weiwen Tushu Chubanshe, 1977, p. 15)，語若鳥聲，字如蛇跡，因而驗察：隨身番經數十葉，原領四川長河西、魚通、寧遠軍民宣慰司批文一紙，內稱"大西天羅漢▫賈哈▫呙，願遊漢地名山、道院、寺觀"等語，蹤跡可異。當今奴酋得計，全在姦細，乞敕法司譯審。刑部移文禮部，取譯字生譯審，批文可據，又有上荊南道

noteworthy that the translators from the Indian Office were not surprised at all that the "Indian *arhat*" was a Tibetan, nor did they accuse him of being an impostor. That the translators used the Tibetan text to test the monk and were able to confirm that he was a Tibetan evidently shows that it was then by no

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掛號、分守川西道查驗各印信關防。又簡出西天館本內番字真實名經一卷，與本番認識，本番即踴躍捧誦。法司研審，實係西番，非東夷也。

Li Qinpu was wrong in identifying this monk as an "Indian lama", see Li Qinpu, "Mingmo Liaodong bianwu lama", in *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica* 71.3 (2000), p. 595.

In the Ming period, Xifan mostly refers to Tibet. However, the name sometimes refers to Turfan or Qomul—a fact that many have overlooked. For example, several entries concerning Xifan on pp. 90-93 in Luo Xianglin 羅香林 ed., *Ming-Qing shilu zhong zhi Xizang shiliao* 明清實錄中之西藏史料 (*Materials pertaining to Tibet in the Veritable records of the Ming and Ching dynasties*) (Hong Kong: Xianggang Daxue Yazhou Yanjiu Zhongxin, 1981) are related to the Uyghur regions and have nothing to do with Tibet and, as such, should not be included in the collection. As stated by Mao Ruizheng 茅瑞徵: 土魯番而下皆西域夷也。西番種人頗繁，第以番括之。 "[Going] downwards (i.e., westwards) from Turfan are [areas inhabited by] the foreigners of the Western Regions (Xiyu). The Xifan people are of many races and are simply subsumed under the name *fan*." (*Huangming xiangxu lu* 皇明象胥錄, Taibei: Taiwan Huawen Shuju, 1968, p. 35, "*fanli* 凡例"). In Ming times, Tufan 土番 could even refer to Tulufan 土魯番 (Turfan) rather than to Tibet. This was observed by Paul Pelliot who, however, does not seem to have noticed that Xifan could refer to Qomul as well, see his "Le Ḥoja et le Sayyid Husain de l'histoire des Ming", in *T'oung Pao* 38 (1948): 137, 150. See also the interesting paper by Victor H. Mair, "*Tufan* and *Tulufan*: the Origins of the Old Chinese Names for Tibet and Turfan", *Central and Inner Asian Studies* 4 (1990): 14-70.

means unusual to call Tibet "India". Moreover the translators from the Indian Office were well aware that the text they used was in Tibetan. This points to the fact that the Indian Office was *de facto* a duplication of the Tibetan Office. That is why Wang Zongzai found it "redundant". What is more interesting is that the Tibetan monk knew very well that the Chinese would like him to be known as an "Indian" and had, accommodatingly, claimed himself to be a *Rgya gar ba* as he entered the "Chinese lands" (*Handi* 漢地) via Sichuan!

1.1.2 The *Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṃgīti*

We must point out, however, that the *Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṃgīti* contains devotional verses accompanied with its Sanskrit version written in Lantsha script. Some of the Lantsha characters were reproduced by the Qing scholar Jiang Fan 江蘩 in his study of the Foreign Offices.[11] The Lantsha text is also found in the quadrilingual xylograph (Sanskrit-Tibetan-Mongolian-Chinese) kept in Ulan Batur and has been reproduced in the eighteenth volume of the *Mongol Pitaka* series.[12] An old Uyghur translation of the text is also available.[13] According to

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[11] *Siyi guan kao* 四譯館考 (*Siku quanshu cunmu congshu* 四庫全書存目叢書 272), *juan* 9, Jinan: Qilu Shushe, 1996. See also Paul Pelliot, "Le Sseu-yi-kouan et le Houei-t'ong-kouan", in *T'oung pao* 38 (1948), p. 280.

[12] Raghu Vira ed., *Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṃgīti in Mongolian, Tibetan, Sanskrit and Chinese*, New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1960s.

the colophon to the Mongolian text in the quadrilingual xylograph, the text was translated into Mongolian by a certain *toyin* Č'os rgya mc'o (Chos [kyi] rgya mtsho) at the behest of the Tümed leader Altan Qan's grandson (*ači*) Bayaγud Baγatur Dai Qung Tayiǰi[14] in the year of *čaγan taulai* (white hare), that is, 1592.[15] According to the Chinese colophon dated October 9, 1502 (弘治十五年菊月重陽日), the Chinese text belonged to the *Dasheng mimi zhupin tuoluonijing* 大乘秘密諸品陀羅尼經 which was set to print under the auspices of the Empress Dowager Wang. The text was printed in red ink. Luo Zhao mentioned a "red-ink version" of the *Zhupin jingzhou* 諸品經咒 kept in the Buddhist monastery Yunjusi 雲居寺 in Beijing.[16] These texts, most likely, were

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[13] Georg Kara-Peter Zieme, *Die uigurischen Übersetzungen des Guruyogas "Tiefer Weg" von Sa-skya Paṇḍita und der Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti* (*Berliner Turfantexte* VIII), Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1977, pp. 83-148.

[14] His name was given in Chinese as Baiyao Badu Taiji 擺腰把都台吉 (Baya·ud Ba·atur Tayiji), see Wang Minghe 王鳴鶴, *Dengtan bi jiu* 登壇必究 (*Siku jinhuishu congkan* 四庫禁燬書叢刊), p. 123.

[15] See Walther Heissig, *Beitrage zur Übersetzungsgeschichte des mongolischen buddhistischen Kanons*, in *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*, phil.-hist. Klasse 3, Folge, Nr. 50, 1962, pp. 23-24; Michael Weiers, "Zum Textfragment TM40 aus der Berliner Turfan-Sammlung", in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 117 (1967), p. 330.

[16] Luo Zhao, "Zang-Han hebi *Sheng Shenghui dao bi'an gongde bao jiji* kaolue", in *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 4 (1983), p. 4.

printed either by the Fanjingchang 番經廠 (Xifan Jingchang, the printery and depository of Tibetan scriptures) or the Xijingchang 西經廠 (Xitian Jingchang, the printery and depository of Sanskrit scriptures) of the Ming court. According to the MSL, Altan Qan requested Tibetan scriptures (*fanjing*) from the Ming court in early 1572.[17] The Supreme Commander Wang Chonggu 王崇古 (1515-1588) urged the court to fulfill the request so that the Mongols might be "tamed" by Buddhism. Due to the objections from some conservative officials, the case was still being discussed towards the end of 1572. Finally the Board of Rites (Libu 禮部) approved of Wang Chonggu's petition but found that the court was unable to find any "Tibetan scripture written in the Mongolian script" (*Dadazi fanjing* 韃靼字番經)[18], that is, any Tibetan scripture in Mongolian translation. We read in Qu Jiusi's 瞿九思 (1546-1617) *Wanli wugonglu* 萬曆武功錄 that the *jingchang*-s (the court printeries and depositories of Buddhist scriptures) were ordered to provide Mongolian scriptures (*Dadajing* 韃靼經) but, due to the fact that the "Tibetan monks"[19] sent by the court to confer the scriptures on the Mongols did not read Mongolian, the court at last decided to give only scriptures

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[17] MSL 95: 1568.

[18] MSL 96: 216-217.

[19] Cf. 4.2.

in Tibetan to the Mongols.[20] The scriptures were sent to the Mongols in 1573.[21] Most likely, the *Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṃgīti* was transmitted to the Mongols at this time and was translated into Mongolian in 1592.

The *Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṃgīti* or, in Tibetan, *'Jam dpal mtshan brjod* was regarded as the basic text of the four-fold tantric corpus (*rgyud sde spyi bzhi'i rtsa ba*).[22] It was a tantric text held in high regard by the Ming royal house. The *Taishō* edition of the *Zhenshimingjing* includes a preface, dated the fifteenth day of the seventh month of the ninth year of Yongle (August 4, 1411), which was written by the Yongle emperor (or, most probably, he had someone write on his behalf).[23] Note that the Zhongyuan 中元 or the Ghost Festival falls on the fifteenth day of the seventh lunar month. It is interesting to learn that the ruthless Yongle emperor whose blood-stained hands had put to horrid death many an innocent life shortly after his usurpation of the throne—surely one of the dirtiest episodes in China's political history—had felt the need to appease the world of ghosts by virtue of tantric power. Also to be noted is that, six days before the Zhongyuan Festival (July 29, 1411), the Yongle emperor's Muslim-*cum*-

[20] *Wanli wugonglu* (*Xuxiu Siku Quanshu* 436), Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 1995-99, p. 469.

[21] MSL 97: 376.

[22] E. Gene Smith, *Tibetan Catalogue*, Seattle: University of Washington, 1969, p. 205.

[23] T1190.20: 826a-b: 大明太宗文皇帝御製真實名經序.

Buddhist eunuch admiral Zheng He brought to China the Buddha's relics from Sri Lanka.[24] Still earlier, in June, the Bengal envoy Saiyid Muḥammad (Saiyi Mahama 賽一馬哈麻) visited the Ming court on behalf of the Bengal king Ghiyathud-Din (Aiyasiding 靄牙思丁).[25] The Bengal diplomatic team was still present at the Chinese court in August, since we read that the Yongle emperor feasted the Bengal envoys together with the Malay *rāja* Parameśvara (Bailimisula 拜里迷蘇剌) from Melaka on September 9, 1411.[26] It seems quite probable that the *Zhenshimingjing* was installed in the Indian Office around this time, apparently for a symbolic purpose rather than a pragmatic one.

1.1.3 The *Zhenshimingjing* was translated from Tibetan

The *Zhenshimingjing* begins with 梵語阿耶曼祖悉哩捺麻捺機石丁[27] in which the second *na* 捺 should be emended to *sang* 搡 so that the whole line reads "The Sanskrit [title]: *Ārya-Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṃgīti*". This was obviously translated from Tibetan "Rgya gar skad du...," because this was the format used in Tibetan translations, but not in Chinese, of Sanskrit texts.

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[24] See 3.4.

[25] MSL 12: 1475, 1480.

[26] MSL 12: 1503.

[27] T1190.20: 826b.

The *Yongle Dadian* 永樂大典, the greatest of Chinese encyclopedia, includes the *Miaojixiang zhenshimingjing* 妙吉祥真實名經 in *juan* 6208 which, unfortunately, belongs to the lost portion of the encyclopedia.[28] In *juan* 15 of the *Yue zang zhi jin* 閱藏知津, the catalogue compiled by the great Chinese Buddhist master Ouyi Zhixu 蕅益智旭 (1599-1655), we find it listed as:

> 聖妙吉祥真實名經一卷 南思北澄 元土蕃沙門釋智慧譯 [29]
>
> The *Sheng Miaojixiang zhenshimingjing*, in one fascicle (in Volume *si* of the *Southern Tripiṭaka* and Volume *cheng* of the *Northern Tripiṭaka*), was translated by the Tufan monk Shi Zhihui during the Yuan period.

In T1190.20, we find these colophons:

> 元講經律論習蜜<密>教土番譯主聶崖沙門釋智[慧]譯 [30]

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[28] See *juan* 17 of the catalogue of the *Yongle Dadian*.

[29] *Yuezang zhijin*, III: 90 (under "Fangdeng Mibu 方等密部"), Shanghai: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1934.

[30] T1190.20: 826b.

Translated by Shi Zhi[hui], the master of Tibetan translation (*Tufan yizhu*) and the *nieya* (?) monk, who lectures on the *sūtra, vinaya, śāśtra* (*jiang jing lü lun*) and practices tantrism in the Yuan.

元甘泉馬蹄山中川守分真師姪智慧譯 [31]

Translated by Zhihui, the *guru*-nephew (*shizhi*) of *shoufenzhen* (?), from the middle river valley (*zhongchuan*) of the Horse-hoof Mountain (Matishan), Ganquan, in the Yuan.

元講經律論出家功德司判使銘箇沙門道圓綴文 [32]

Embellished (*zhuiwen*, lit., "to join words", cf. Tib. *rnam par sbyar ba*, *legs par sbyar ba*) by Daoyuan, the *mingge* (?) monk, the Commissioner of Buddhist Clergies (*Chujia Gongdesi panshi*) who lectures on the *sūtra, vinaya* and *śāśtra* (*jiang jing lü lun*) in the Yuan.

The title *Tufan yizhu* (*yizhu* "concentrator in translation") only indicates that Zhihui specialized in translating Tibetan texts and does not necessarily imply that

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[31] T1190.20: 832b, 833a.

[32] T1190.20: 832b.

he was a Tibetan. The way of listing the monk's titles is typical of that found in Xixia, the Tangut kingdom.[33] What the term *shizhi* 師姪 actually means in this context is not clear to me.[34] The meanings of the titles *shoufenzhen*, *nieya* and *mingge*, too, are obscure. I am inclined to think that they were transcribed from Tangut[35]. None of these titles is found on the list of the Tangut official titles retrieved from Qara Qoto.[36] We know that a place called Matichuan 馬蹄川 (Horse-hoof River Valley) in the vicinity of Yanzhou 延州 was occupied by the Tanguts.[37] We also learn from the biography of Muqalï 木華黎 in the *Yuanshi*

[33] Cf. Luo Zhao, "Zang-Han hebi *Sheng Shenghui dao bi'an gongde bao jiji* kaolue", in *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 4 (1983): 4-19; Shi Jinbo, *Xixia Fojiaoshi*, Yinchuan: Ningxia Renmin Chubanshe, 1988. Nonetheless, the Tanguts seem to have borrowed it from the Khitan dynasty, the Liao. See, for example, Huang Renheng 黃任恆, *Liao jinshi* 遼金石, in *Liaohen wuzhong* 遼痕五種 (1925 ed.), 1: 19b *et passim*. Cf. also the title "Xitian fanshi" 西天梵師 granted to Tangut monks under the Ming, see Shi Jinbo and Bai Bin, "Mingdai Xixiawen jingjuan he shichuang chutan 明代西夏文經卷和石幢初探", in Bai Bin 白濱 ed., *Xixiashi lunwenji* 西夏史論文集, Yinchuan: Ningxia Renmin Chubanshe, 1984, p. 579.

[34] Compare *fazhi* 法姪 ("*dharma*-nephew") in Huang Renheng, *Liao jinshi*, 3: 49b.

[35] Cf. the Chinese characters selected to transcribe Tangut official titles such as *angnie* 昂聶, *moge* 謨箇 etc., see *Xixiaji* 西夏紀, Yinchuan: Ningxia Renmin Chubanshe, 1988, p. 293.

[36] E. I. Kychanov, "Tangutskie istočniki o gosudarstvenno-administrativnom apparate Si Sja", in *Kratkie soobščenijia instituta narodov azii, AN SSSR* 69 (1963): 180-218. The list is, however, incomplete and of fragmentary nature.

[37] *Xixia ji*, p. 229.

about the settlement called Matizhai 馬蹄寨 (Horse-hoof Fortress) in the vicinity of Yan'an 延安.[38] According to the map of the Xixia kingdom, Ganquan 甘泉 was located in Yan'an Fu 延安府, Shaanxi 陝西.[39] Hence it seems that "Ganquan Matishan zhongchuan" was located in the Xixia kingdom which was later annexed to the Mongol Yuan empire. The Tangutologist Shi Jinbo and the Tibetologist Chen Qingying, while studying the tantric collections compiled in the Xixia period, identified Ganquan with Ganzhou 甘州 and Gansu 甘肅 respectively.[40] Yu Qian, on the other hand, identified Matishan with Ma'anshan 馬鞍山 (Saddle Mountain) near Ganquan (Ganquanshan in Hebei).[41] One certainly can find many Ma'anshan and Matishan in China[42] but one cannot identify the place arbitrarily.

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[38] YS: 2934.

[39] Zhang Chunzhi 張春治, *Xixia jishi benmo* 西夏紀事本末, in Tan Tingxian 譚廷獻, *Ban'an congshu* 半广叢書, Guangxu edition.

[40] Shi Jinbo, *Xixia Fojiaoshi*, Yinchuan: Ningxia Renmin Chubanshe, 1988, p. 121, Chen Qingying, *Dasheng xuanmi dishi kao* 大乘玄密帝師考", *Fojiao yanjiu* 9 (2000).

[41] Yu Qian 喻謙, *Xin "Xu gaoseng zhuan"* 新續高僧傳, Taibei: Xinwenfeng Chuban Gufen Youxian Gongsi, 1974, Vol. 1, p. 125.

[42] Such place-names are also found in overseas Chinese settlements, see Xiang Da, *Liangzhong Haidao zhenjing*, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1961, p. 248.

The *Zhenshimingjing* was translated from Tibetan into Chinese by Zhihui who seems to have been a Tangut. It was not illegitimate to refer to someone from the post-Xixia Tangut areas as a "Tibetan", especially if the individual in question were a Buddhist monk trained in the Tibetan tradition. Therefore the "Tufan shamen" in Zhixu's catalogue does not necessarily indicate that Zhihui was a native of Tibet or that Zhixu committed an error in this respect. The *Shengzhe Wenshushili fa putixin yuanwen* 聖者文殊師利發菩提心願文 was also translated by Zhihui based on what was transmitted by a certain Bakanluomuwa 巴看落目瓦.[43] Bakanluomuwa appears to be a Tibetan name if we take the final syllable *wa* to be *ba*, the Tibetan *bdag sgra* (possessive suffix), and consider the first two syllables *bakan* to represent *dpal mgon, dpal mkhan [po]* or the like.

We also find a Tibetan translation of the *Bhaiṣajyaguru-vaiḍūrya-prabhā* in the Yongle Southern and Northern Tripiṭaka (Yongle Nanbeizang 永樂南北藏) which was labeled as a scripture written in "Sanskrit script" (*Fanshu yaoshi liuliguang qifo benyuan gongdeng jing* 梵書藥師瑠璃光七佛本願功德經). The term *fanshu* 梵書 "Sanskrit script" in the title was corrected to *fanzi* 番字 ("Tibetan script") only in the Qing edition.[44] The Tibetan text was probably the

[43] T1198.20.

[44] *Zhonghua Da Zangjing* 中華大藏經 (*Hanwen bufen* 漢文部分) No. 188, Vol. 18, p. 401.

one on which the Tangut translator Shaluoba's 沙囉巴 [45] Chinese translation[46] was based. This, again, shows that "Tibetan" and "Sanskrit" could be used interchangeably since the Yongle period,. This happened because, for the Ming emperor, Tibet had replaced India as the sacred land of Buddhism. Tibet was Tibet (geographically) on the one hand and also India (religiously) on the other. This was symbolized by the Indian Office's being a duplication of the Tibetan Office.

This may be called the "India~Tibet" duality of Tibet.

1.2 India Major and India Minor

After the Mongol conquest of China, "Tibet" was associated with "India" in China through a gradual process which became complete in the Ming period. When the Qing succeeded the Ming, India (Ma. Enetkek) and Tibet (Ma. Tubet) were "dissociated" because the Manchus, unlike the Chinese, had not been exposed to Indian Buddhism. As the Manchus became increasingly familiar with the Chinese convention, some Qing writers began to make the same "confusion" again, the instances of which are plentiful but these fall outside the scope of this study.

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[45] About whom, see H. Franke, "Sha-lo-pa (1259-1314): a Tangut Buddhist monk in Yüan China", *Religion und Philosophie in Ostasien: Festschrift für Hans Steiniger zum 65. Geburtstag*, Würzburg: Königshausen + Neumann, 1985, pp. 201-222.

[46] T925.19.

The process of India's being gradually "Tibetanized" in China can be traced back to the early Yuan period, as observable in the instances given below.

1.2.1 'Phags pa Lama's Title

When the Sa skya pa lama 'Phags pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan (1235-1280), who was appointed *ti shri* (Ch. *dishi*) "imperial preceptor" by Qubilai Qaγan, passed away, a lengthy title was granted to him:

> 皇天之下一人之上開教宣文輔治大聖至德普覺真知佑國如意大寶法王西天佛子大元帝師板的達巴思八八合失.[47]
>
> [The one] beneath Heaven and above the single person (the emperor) (*huangtian zhixia yiren zhishang*)[48], the great sage who founded the religion, spread the civilization and assisted the

[47] Tao Zongyi 陶宗儀, *Nancun chuogeng lu* 南村輟耕錄 (*Jindai mishu* 津逮秘書 9), 12: 17a.

[48] This title seems to suggest, quite unexpectedly, that 'Phags pa's status was even higher than the emperor (Qubilai Qaγan). It is related in a Mongolian chronicle that 'Phags pa was seated higher than the *qaγan* when he preached the dharma and gave empowerments (Skr. *abhiṣeka*) to the latter, and was seated equally with the *qaγan* when administering the government (ET: 86:*...nom nomlan abisig ögküi-dür lam-a tabčang deger-e saγun, qaγan door-a saγuju, törö jasaγ-i yabuγulqui-dur, lam-a qaγan qoyar sačaγu tabčang degere saγubasu yambar kemegsen-dür, qoyar büri jöbsiyen teyin kü boltuγai kemeged*). Cf. YS: 4521.

> governance (*kaijiao xuanwen fuzhi dasheng*), the dharma king of the wish-fulfilling great gem (*ruyi dabao fawang*)[49] who was the most virtuous, the omniscient, the one with true wisdom and the state protector (*zhide pujue zhenzhi youguo),* the son of the Buddha of India (*xitian fozi*), the imperial preceptor of the Great Yuan (*dayuan dishi*), Paṇḍita 'Phags pa Baγsi (*bandida basiba baheshi*).

The title *Xitian fozi* "the son of Buddha of India"—given in Tibetan by the fifth Dalai Lama as *Rgya gar gyi lha'i sras po* "the divine prince of India"[50]—has the implication that the Tibetan lama was the Buddha. Tibetan Buddhism was accepted as true Buddhism, as true as Indian Buddhism.

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[49] *Ruyi dabao fawang* should be translated into Tib. *yid bzhin nor bu chen po'i chos kyi rgyal po* being different from the fifth Karma pa's title *Rulai dabao fawang* which should reflect Tib. *Chos rje rin po che De bzhin gshegs pa*, see 3.3.

[50] *gnam gyi 'og sa'i steng rgya gar gyi lha'i sras po/ yi ge rtsom mi/ sprul pa'i sangs rgyas/ rgyal khams 'jags su 'jug mi/ snyan ngag gi rgyu/ paṇḍi ta 'phags pa ti shri* (BD: 129). Zahiruddin Ahmad tr., *The History of Tibet*, Indiana University, Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies, 1995, p. 98: "Below the sky, above the earth, the son of the god of India; inventor of the script; the incarnate Buddha; the man appointed to establish a kingdom; the source of rhetoric; the scholar, 'Phags pa; Imperial Preceptor."

Some Chinese scholars of the Yuan-Ming period went one step further to view the "square script" (*dörbeljin üsüg*) or 'Phags pa script as being derived directly from an Indian script: the *siddham* script.[51]

1.2.2 'Phags pa Script

Liu Guan 柳貫 (1270-1342) wrote that "the holy master from the Western Regions 'Phags ma" (*Xiyu shengshi* Basima 西域聖師八思馬)[52] invented the new national script based on "[the model that represents] Indian phonetics" (*Zhuqian shengyun* 竺乾聲韻).[53] Ye Ziqi 葉子奇 (fl. 14th century) wrote that 'Phags ma (Basima 八思麻)[54] devised the Mongolian script (*Menggu zishu* 蒙古字書) based on the seven sounds (*qiyin* 七音).[55] By the "seven sounds" (velar, retroflex, labial, palatal, dental, semi-retroflex and semi-palatal), the Chinese

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[51] See also R. H. van Gulik, *Siddham*, Nagpur: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1956, pp. 44, 98-99.

[52] *Basima* can only be reconstructed as *'Phags ma*. The Tibetan lama was curiously referred to as 'Phags ma (feminine) rather than 'Phags pa (masculine) by the Yuan writer.

[53] *Wenzhou xinjian dishidian beiming bingxu* 溫州新建帝師殿碑銘并序, in *Liu Daizhi wenji* 柳待制文集 (*Sibu congkan*), *juan* 9.

[54] See note 52 above.

[55] *Caomu zi* 草木子, Taibei: Guangwen Shuju, 1975, p. 140.

writer meant Sanskrit phonetics. The *Yuanshi*, on the other hand, mentions the main principles underlying the new Mongolian script as employing double (*erhe* 二合), triple (*sanhe* 三合) and quadruple (*sihe* 四合) sound combinations as well as sound harmony (*xiesheng* 諧聲).[56] For the Chinese scholars, the *qiyin*, the *erhe*, *sanhe*, *sihe*, and the *xiesheng* are all the characteristics of Sanskrit.[57] In fact, they simply borrowed the terms to describe the new script which they appraised from a religious rather than a linguistic perspective.[58] The 'Phags pa Script was, of course, based on Tibetan rather than Sanskrit.

1.2.3 'Phags pa's Self-identification

In his debate with the Taoists, 'Phags pa spoke on behalf of the Indian tradition:

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[56] YS: 4518.

[57] See Zheng Qiao 鄭樵, *Tongzhi* 通志, "Preface to the Compendium of the seven sounds" (七音略・序) and "Compendium of the six principles of creating Chinese characters: on Chinese and Sanskrit II" (六書略・論華梵中).

[58] Cf. Tao Zongyi, *Shushi huiyao* 書史會要, Shanghai: Shanghai Shudian, 1984, pp. 344-346, 360-363; A. M. Pozdneyev, *Lekcii po istorii mongol'skoj literatury*, Vol. 1, St. Petersburg, 1897, pp. 186-191.

[拔合思八國師] 問："你上說言他國史記與此漢地史記一般中用，俺西天有頻婆娑羅王史記，言語還憑麼？" [59]

[The State Preceptor 'Phags pa] asked: "You said just now that the chronicles of other countries are as useful as the chronicles of China here. Our India has the *Chronicle of King Bimbisāra*[60]. Are [not] the words [from this book] reliable?"

[帝師辦的達八合思八]曰："我天竺亦有史記，汝聞之乎？" [61]

[The Imperial Preceptor Paṇḍita 'Phags pa] remarked: "Our India also has chronicles. Have you ever heard of them?"

In this context, 'Phags pa spoke on behalf of a scholarly tradition the Tibetans inherited from their Indian gurus. "India" had become a cultural concept.

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[59] *Dayuan Zhiyuan bianwei lu* 大元至元辯僞錄, *Zhonghua dazangjing (Hanwen bufen)* 中華大藏經 (漢文部分), Vol. 73, 25b.

[60] *Bimbisāra-sūtra* (*Mdo chen po gzugs can snying pos bsu ba*)?

[61] *Dayuan Zhiyuan bianwei lu*, 30a.

1.2.4 The "Sanskrit" Atlas

The 1281 expedition sent out by Qubilai Qaγan traced the source of the Yellow River to Xingxiu Hai 星宿海 (Mo. Hodun Naγur 火敦惱兒).[62] It was also said that the cartographer Zhu Siben 朱思本 (1273-1330s?) translated into Chinese an atlas (*tushu* 圖書) in Sanskrit script (*fanzi* 梵字) that had belonged to the Imperial Preceptor(s), which he obtained from Balgis[63] and, in that very book, the information about the source of the river could be found. It was based on this reference that the Chinese historian Qiu Shusen concluded that Zhu Siben was well-versed in Sanskrit.[64] The Chinese Tibetologist Wang Yao rightfully

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[62] Pan Angxiao 潘昂霄, *Heyuan ji* 河源記 (*Congshu jicheng chubian* edition), p. 1. See also Herbert Franke, "Nichtchinesische Ortsnamen im Quellgebiet des Huang-ho nach Aufzeichnungen der Expedition unter Qubilai (1281)", in Klaus Sagaster and Michael Weiers eds., *Documenta Barbarorum: Festchrift für Walther Heissig zum 70 Geburtstag*, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983, pp. 100-110, Wang Yao, "Study on the Names and the Location of the Skya ring and the Sngo ring Two Big Lakes at the Source of the Yellow River", in Louis Ligeti ed., *Tibetan and Buddhist Studies Commemorating the 200th Anniversary of the Birth of Alexander Csoma de Kőrös*, Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1984, Vol. 2, pp. 361-365. The name of Xingxiu Hai is given as Odun Tala in Qing records (see, for example, *Kangxi jixia gewu bian* 康熙幾暇格物編, Vol. 1, p. 1a: 鄂敦他臘; *Xichao xinyu* 熙朝新語, 5: 5: 敖敦他拉). Mo. *hodun* > *odun* (through aphaeresis) "star" corresponds to Ch. *xingxiu* "constellation".

[63] YS: 127: 從八里吉思家得帝師所藏梵字圖書，而以華文譯之.

[64] Qiu Shusen 邱樹森, "Zhu Siben he tade *Yudi Tu* 朱思本和他的輿地圖", in *Helan ji* 賀蘭集, Nanjing: Jiangsu Guji Chubanshe, 1997, p. 127.

pointed out that what was being referred to as "Sanskrit" here was in fact Tibetan but his view that this shows the imperfect linguistic knowledge on the part of the Chinese scholars seems to oversimplify the whole matter.[65]

First, one must note that, for the Chinese, "Sanskrit script" might simply mean the "sacred script" or, more precisely, the "Buddhist script". As Tibet became increasingly known as the land of Buddhism, the borderline between "Tibet" and "India" as well as between "Tibetan" and "Sanskrit" became blurred in religious discourse. Secondly, it must be pointed out that even in Tibetan texts, it is not uncommon to find instances where Tibetan and Sanskrit are not clearly distinguished from each other. For example:

> *dkar mo dbu ma'i mtshan gsol pa/ rgya gar skad du/ dkar mo re ma ti/ sang kri ta'i skad du/ ma sar dbang phyug ma/ rdo rje dbang phyung <phyug> ma/ rdo rje sardza zhes bya'o// bod skad du/ dkar mo dgu ma zhes bya'o//*[66]

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[65] Wang Yao, "Zhaling Eling liang hu mingcheng weizhi kaoshi 扎陵、鄂陵兩湖名稱、位置考實", in *Xizang wenshi kaoxinji*, Gaoxiong: Foguang Chubanshe, 1990, p. 195, or its 1984 English version, p. 362 (cf. note 62 above). A similar tendency of oversimplifying such an issue is also found in van Gulik (see note 51 above).

[66] MM: 97.

Praying the name of [the goddess] Dkar mo dbu ma: in the Indian language, Dkar mo re ma ti; in Sanskrit, Ma sar dbang phyug ma, Rdo rje dbang phyug ma, Rdo rje sardza; in Tibetan, Dkar mo dgu ma.

Note that both the "Indian" and "Sanskrit" names include Tibetan words. Another example:

mtsho sman rgyal mo mtshan gsol ba/ rgya gar skad du/ arya re manti zhes bya'o// sang kri ta'i skad du/ 'o de'i srid mo zhes bya'o// bod skad du mtsho sman chen mo dpal ldan zhes bya'o//[67]

Praying the name of [the goddess] Mtsho sman rgyal mo: in the Indian language, Arya re manti; in Sanskrit, 'O de'i srid mo; in Tibetan, Mtsho sman chen mo dpal ldan.

Again, it is hard to tell why the "Sanskrit" form is not Tibetan. The basis for the confusion of "Sanskrit" and "Tibetan" is to be found in Tibetan texts and, for which reason, it is incorrect to conclude that the Chinese scholars could not distinguish Tibetan from Sanskrit. The fact may very well be that we ourselves

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[67] MM: 97.

have failed to perceive the phenomenon against its cultural background of the historical period in question.

1.2.5 "Indian" Monks who Loved Zhao Mengfu's Arts

We read in the biography of Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫 (1254-1322):

> 天竺國在西徼數萬里外，其高僧亦知公為中國賢者，且寶其書。[68]
>
> India is located beyond myriads of miles away in the remote west [and yet, even] the eminent monks there knew that *gong* (i.e., Zhao Mengfu) was China's sage. In addition, they treasured his calligraphies.

In the Yuan period, the notion of "Tianzhu" (or "Xitian") encompassed Nepalese and Tibetan areas. The Yuan artist Zhao Mengfu produced several calligraphies of Buddhist scriptures including the *Diamond Sūtra* (*Jingangjing* 金剛經). Besides, he was none other than the author of the *Danba bei* 膽巴碑, the

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[68] Yang Zai 楊載, *Dayuan gu hanlin xueshi chengzhi ronglu dafu zhi zhigao jian xiu guoshi Zhaogong xingzhuang* 大元故翰林學士承旨榮祿大夫知制誥兼修 國史趙公行狀, in *Zhao Mengfu ji* 趙孟頫集, Zhejiang Guji Chubanshe, 1986, Appendix, p. 275; YS: 4023: "There were monks from India who traveled for myriads of miles to acquire his calligraphies which were treasured in their country." (天竺有僧，數萬里來求其書歸，國中寶之)

epigraph dedicated to Sga A gnyan dam pa Kun dga' grags pa. In this famous work, Zhao writes that Kun dga'grags pa was given the name Dam pa when he received instructions from his "holy master Chos rje ba" (*shengshi chuolizhewa* 聖師綽理哲哇) and "Sanskrit *dam pa* corresponds to Chinese *weimiao* ("excellent, subtle") 梵言膽巴，華言微妙".[69] Note that *dam pa* "excellent, superior, holy" is of course Tibetan rather than Sanskrit. *Fanyan* should be understood as simply meaning "the sacred language" rather than "Sanskrit". We also know that Chinese ink was much appreciated by such an eminent Tibetan monk as Bcom ldan rig pa'i ral gri (1227-1305), the Snar thang scholar.[70]

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[69] *Dayuan chici Longxingsi Dajue Puci Guangzhao Wushang Dishi zhi bei* 大元敕賜龍興寺大覺普慈廣照無上帝師之碑. See also H. Franke, "Übersetzung von Chao Meng-fus Gedenkstele", *Chinesischer und tibetischer Buddhismus im China der Yüanzeit*, München: Komm. für Zentralasiatische Studien, Bayerische Akad. der Wiss., 1996, pp. 37-46.

[70] DS, Vol. *Cha*, 5b: *mkhas pa chen po 'jam pa'i dbyangs kyang khong gi slob ma yin pa las re shig chos bar sar 'dre rdzu byas nas slob dpon la bsdigs bskur bas/ shin tu bka' bkyon nas drung du 'dug dbang ma byung bas sa skyar bzhugs pas/ hor gyis gdan drangs nas bhū yan du rgyal po'i mchod gnas mdzad/ der tshad ma rnam 'grel gyi ṭī ka bsdus pa dang bcas pa brtsams gser yig pa rnams la bcom ldan pa'i drung du 'bul ba re ci thengs byas kyang mnyes pa tsam byung/ mthar sdug tsha sgam chung gang bskur bas shin tu mnyes/* "The mahā paṇḍita 'Jam dbyangs ('Jam pa'i dbyangs) has also been his (i.e., Bcom ldan rig pa'i ral gri—my note) disciple. Once at the end of a class (evening) he disguised himself as a devil and frightened the teacher (this is a famous story throughout Tibet. 'Jam dbyangs, once put a mask of a Religious Protector and appeared before Rig ral in the moon-light. Having frightened him, he chased him round the monastery) who scolded him and refused permission for him to remain in his presence. He therefore took up residence at Sa skya. After receiving an invitation from the Mongols, he became the court chaplain (*mchod gnas*) of Buyantu-qan. There he wrote a short commentary on the *Pramaṇaviniścaya*, and sent

1.2.6 Tibetan Hierarchs

Coming to the Ming period, we find that the fifth Karma pa De bzhin gshegs pa was also called "Indian monk" by some Ming writers. For instance, a Ming writer wrote:

> 永樂初嘗遣使往天竺迎其僧來京兆，號大寶法王，居靈谷寺，頗著靈異，謂之神通，教人念唵嘛呢叭□彌吽，於是信者晝夜念之。時翰林侍讀李繼鼎笑曰："若彼既有神通，當通中國語，何爲待譯者而後知乎？且其所謂唵嘛呢叭□彌吽云者，乃云俺把你哄也，人不之悟耳。" 福按：宋史元昊擅西夏，自稱兀卒，宋人亦有兀卒近吾祖之說。以是而論，繼鼎之言不爲過也。[71]

> In the early period of Yongle, [the emperor] once sent envoys to India (*Tianzhu*) to invite the monk to the capital (Nanjing). [The monk was] entitled Dabao Fawang and was installed in the

numerous presents to Bcom ldan pa by an Imperial Messenger, but the Teacher did not express pleasure. At last he succeeded in pleasing his Teacher by sending him a box filled with China ink." (G. Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1978, p. 337)

[71] Yao Fu 姚福, *Qingxi xiabi* 清溪暇筆 (*Lidai xiaoshi* 歷代小史 edition), Yangzhou: Jiangsu Guangling Guji Shuyinshe, 1989, p. 725.

> Linggu monastery. He manifested miracles which were called "mysterious penetration" (*shentong*). People were taught to recite *an ma ni ba mi hong* (*oṃ ma ṇi padme hūṃ*). Those who believed [in him] recited it day and night. At that time, Li Jiding, the Reader of the Hanlin Academy, mocked it, saying: "If he does have 'mysterious penetration', he should [be able to] understand Chinese. Why then could he understand us only after the interpreter [had translated for him]? Moreover the *an ma ni ba mi hong* so mumbled by him actually means *an ba ni hong* ('I am making a fool of you!'). People simply do not realize that!" Yao Fu's note: According to the *Songshi*, when Yuanhao (the Tangut leader) proclaimed kingship in Xixia and named himself *wuzu*, the Song people also said that *wuzu* 兀卒 was close to *wuzu* 吾祖 ("our ancestor"). Taking this into consideration, [one should say that] Jiding's comment was not unjustified.

The Karma pa was not a Tibetan who could understand Chinese and one may assume that he did not know of this criticism. Also, we read:

> 永樂初迎天竺僧來京，號“大寶法王”，始教人念“唵嘛呢叭□彌吽”，侍讀李繼鼎笑曰：“六字所云，‘俺把你哄’也。”時頗韙之，實屬李臆揣，非是。佛語無此俚淺。[72]
>
> In the early period of Yongle, the Indian monk was invited to the capital (Nanjing) and entitled Dabao Fawang, and began to teach the people to recite *an ma ni ba mi hong* (*oṃ ma ṇi padme hūṃ*). The Reader Li Jiding mocked this, saying: “That six characters mean *an ba ni hong* (‘I am making a fool of you!’).” At that time some thought that he was right. In fact, this was Li’s speculation which could not be true. Buddha’s words could not be so vulgar and shallow.

The hexasyllabic mantra was then little known in Southern China[73], hence the criticism.

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[72] Huang Jingfang 黃景昉, *Guoshi weiyi* 國史唯疑 (*Xuxiu Siku quanshu* 432), p. 25. See also *Xiyouji*, Chap. 8 where the monkey begged Avalokiteśvara to save him while complaining that he was duped by the Tathāgata (*Rulai hong le wo* 如來哄了我). A portrait of the Fifth Karma pa with the mantra in four scripts (Chinese, Lantsha, Tibetan and Mongolian) is found in a 1431 pictorial collection housed in the Musée Guimet and has been reproduced in Chap. 4 of Heather Stoddard, *Early Sino-Tibetan Art*, Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1975.

The fifth Karma pa was honored as if he was from India and, because there were scholars who took the above records at face value, some confusion ensued. Shen Maoshang 慎懋賞 (16th century), in his *Siyi guangji* 四夷廣記 (*Extensive Records of the Foreigners*), placed the anecdote of Li Jiding in the chapter of "Bengal" and made the Tibetan monk a native of Bengal.[74] This was because, as we have mentioned in 1.1.1 above, Bengal (or Dong Tianzhu "Eastern India") was the only Indian state that had short-term diplomatic relations with Ming China. Shen Maoshang failed to recognize that the "Indian" monk was in fact Tibetan. Despite the obvious fact that Shen Maoshang was in error, more than one Chinese scholar had made speculations based on his record. Professor Ji Xianlin suggested that the hexasyllabic mantra was spread to Tibet from Bengal.[75] There was even an article which accepts Shen's record uncritically and proceeds to give a new route taken by the Ming envoys sent for the Karma pa![76]

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[73] At the time of the third Karma pa Rang byung rdo rje, the mantra was never heard in Southern China (T2101.51: 1136a: 江南未之聞也).

[74] *Siyi guangji*, Taibei: Guangwen Shuju, 1969, p. 1335.

[75] Ji Xianlin 季羨林, "Liuzi zhenyan 六字真言", in *Ji Xianlin wenji*, Nanchang: Jiangxi Jiaoyu Chubanshe, 1995, Vol. 14, pp. 239-241.

[76] Feng Hanyong 馮漢鏞, "Cong Chayu yange zai lun Hou Xian yingjie Halima de luxian 從察隅沿革再論侯顯迎接哈立麻的路線", in *Zhongguo Zangxue* 1 (1995): 89-97. A Bengal monk who paid tribute to the Ming court was a certain Kulamola 苦剌默剌 (Guramara?) and his visit took place in 1424 (MSL 14: 2426, 2427).

Likewise, in a non-offical record, Theg chen chos rje Kun dga' bkra shis pa is mentioned as having come from "Dbus-Gtsang" as well as from "India":

> 烏思藏大乘法王，居西天日落佛國。[77]
>
> The Dharma King of the Greater Vehicle (*Dasheng Fawang*) of Dbus-Gtsang lived in India (Xitian), the Buddha's country where the sun set.

Byams chen chos rje Shākya ye shes was even known as a descendant of Śākyamuni from Kapilavastu, India![78]

1.2.7 The Ming Novel *Xiyouji* (*Journey to the West*)

In the Ming novel *Xiyouji*, the monkey king Sun Wukong 孫悟空 was subdued by Rulai 如來 (*tathāgata, de bzhin gshegs pa*) who pressed the monkey under a mountain to which was applied a seal with the hexasyllabic mantra (*yig*

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[77] Tian Yiheng 田藝蘅 (16th century), *Liuqing rizha zhaichao* 留青日札摘抄, Shanghai: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1937, p. 145.

[78] Zhencheng, *Wutai Shan zhi*, Yangzhou: Jiangsu Guangling Guji Keyinshe, 1997, p. 139: 釋迦也失，天竺迦毗羅國世尊之裔也。

drug).[79] In two earlier versions of the story by Zhu Dingchen 朱鼎臣 and Yang Zhihe 楊致和, the two characters *bami* 叭咪 (*padme*) in the mantra is curiously given as *bani* 叭呢 [80] which seems to point to the influence of Li Jiding's joke. In fact, Rulai in this story alludes to De bzhin gshegs pa (Karma pa V) while the Heavenly Emperor, Yuhuang Dadi 玉皇大帝, to the Ming emperor(s).

In Ming writings, Tibet was known as India Minor (Xiaoxitian 小西天) while India Major (Daxitian 大西天) refers to the Indian subcontinent, but sometimes India Major refers to Central Tibet while India Minor to its neighboring areas. In the *Xiyouji*, Tibet can either be India Major or India Minor depending on the context.

The novel mentions that in India Minor in the Western Continent of Aparagodānīya (Xi Niuhezhou 西牛賀洲), there was the Little Thunderclap Monastery (Xiaoleiyinsi 小雷音寺. Ch. *leiyin* = Tib. *'brug sgra*) of Yellow Brow

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[79] Nowadays, we can still see the mantra engraved in mountain cliffs in many places in Tibet. In the Yuan drama *Xiyouji*, the monkey was subdued by Avalokiteśvara. There the charm used by the bodhisattva was monosyllabic (*yizi* 一字 "one character"), see *Yang Donglai Xiansheng piping Xiyouji* 楊東來先生批評西遊記, in *Guben xiqu congkan chuji* 古本戲曲叢刊初集, III, p. 42. That the mantra was changed to the hexasyllabic one in the Ming novel indicates an increased influence of Tibetan Buddhism in China which was particularly due to the fifth Karma pa's visit to the Ming court.

[80] *Tang Sanzang xiyou shi'e zhuan, Xiyouji zhuan* 唐三藏西遊釋厄傳 • 西遊記傳, Beijing: Renmin Wenxue Chubanshe, 1984, p. 210.

Fiend (Huangmeiguai 黃眉怪) who disguised himself as the Buddha.[81] In Ming times, the Tibetans and Mongols in Tibeto-Sichuan borders were known as Yellow-haired barbarians (*Huangmao fan* 黃毛番)[82] or Yellow-haired wild Tatars (*Huangmao ye dazi* 黃毛野達子).[83]

In the same novel, the hog Zhu Bajie 豬八戒 was a native of the Fuling mountain 福陵山 in the village of Gaolao Zhuang 高老莊 on the border of Dbus-Gtsang (Wusi-Zang 烏斯藏)[84] which, like India Minor, was said to be located in the Western Continent of Aparagodānīya.

Also, the Monkey was subdued by the Buddha near the Mountain on the Borders of Two Countries (Liangjieshan 兩界山) in Xifan 西番.[85] The border mountain refers to Bayan Kara Ula on the borders of Qinghai and Tibet.[86]

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[81] *Xiyouji*, Chapter 65 and 66.

[82] Cao Xuequan 曹學佺, *Shuzhong guangji* 蜀中廣記, Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 1993, p. 416a.

[83] MSL 67: 2625: 自四川雅州出境，過長河西，迤西至烏思藏，約有數月程，皆黃毛野達子之地.

[84] *Xiyouji*, Chapter 18 and Chapter 54 (烏斯莊).

[85] *Xiyouji*, Chapter 13.

[86] Xu Hongpan 許鴻磐, *Liuguan Lou wenji shiyi* 六觀樓文集拾遺 (1890 ed.), pp. 12b, 15b.

Before the Buddha was invited to subdue the monkey, there had been two attempts to "pacify" him without resorting to force. At first, Taibai Jinxing 太白金星 (Venus—embodied by an old man in Chinese mythology) invited the monkey to the Heavenly Court where the monkey was granted a position at the Imperial Stud (Yumajian 御馬監).[87] This is reminiscent of Ming eunuchs from the Imperial Stud (Yumajian taijian 御馬監太監) who were charged with Tibetan affairs including horse-trades. At the second attempt, Taibai Jinxing proposed to the Yuhuang Dadi to confer on the monkey the empty title (*kongming* 空名) "Qitian Dasheng" 齊天大聖 (The Great Sage Equal of Heaven). Since the monkey could not distinguish between a real title and an empty title, he should be happy and would not revolt.[88] This was indeed the view expressed by the Ming officer Mao Ji 毛紀 when he tried to stop the Wuzong emperor from honoring the eighth Karma pa Mi bskyod rdo rje (1507-1554) by reminding the emperor that the Ming policy was one of granting the Tibetans "empty titles and vague ranks" (*kongming xuzhi* 空名虛秩) such as *fawang*, *guoshi* etc. so that they would not harass the frontiers.[89]

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[87] Cf. 4.3.

[88] *Xiyouji zhuan*, see note 80 above.

[89] Yan Congjian, *Shuyu zhouzi lu*, Taibei: Taiwan Huawen Shuju, 1968, p. 525. See also Wang Shizhen: 12-13.

Another passage of the novel reads:

> 三藏望西前進，行了數日，到了鞏州城，州縣官吏接進城中安歇。一日，又到河州衛，乃是大唐的山河邊界，早有鎮邊官兵與本處僧道，聞得是欽差御弟上西方見佛，接至福原寺安歇。[90]

> The Tripiṭaka master proceeded westwards for a few days. Arriving at the city of Gongzhou, he was received by municipal officials to spend the night in the city. On a later day, he arrived at the Guard of Hezhou (Hezhouwei) which was the frontier of the Great Tang. The garrison officials and local clerics already heard that the emperor sent his sworn brother to the West to see the Buddha, so they greeted him and brought him to spend the night at the Fuyuan monastery.

This, in fact, describes the route taken by monk-diplomats sent by the Ming court to Tibet. Hezhouwei was established by the Ming (see 2.3) and it is anachronistic to say that it was the frontier of the Tang empire .

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[90] *Xiyouji*, Chapter 13.

By placing the stories against the background of Sino-Tibetan relations in Ming times, we would be able to appreciate better the humor of the anonymous author of this very interesting novel.

Last but not least, we also read in Chapter 19 of the same novel that after the hog Zhu Bajie had joined the Tripiṭaka master and the monkey Sun Wukong and continued the journey to the west, they soon passed the border of Dbus-Gtsang (*xing guo le Wusi-Zang jie* 行過了烏斯藏界) and came to Mt. Stupa 浮屠山 where they met the Chan master Wuchao 烏巢禪師 who resided in a crow's nest (hence the name *wuchao*) on a tree. The Chan master imparted the *Heart Sutra* (*Boreboluomiduo xin jing* 般若波羅蜜多心經, *Prajñā-pāramitā-hṛdaya-sūtra*) to the Tripiṭaka master. Since Zhu Bajie lived near the border of Wusi-Zang, passing the border of Wusizang means that they were entering the territory of Wusi-Zang (Dbus-Gtsang). We know that, historically, the Tripiṭaka master Xuanzang 玄奘 acquired the Sanskrit text of the *Heart Sutra* in Sichuan.[91] Obviously, the author of the Ming novel had shifted the place to Tibet. This is, of

[91] Huili 慧立, *Da Ci'ensi Sanzang Fashi zhuan* 大慈恩寺三藏法師傳, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1983, p. 16. In the Song version of the story of the *Xiyouji*, the Tripiṭaka master obtained the *Heart Sutra* in a country named Panlü 盤律 on his way back to China from India, see *Datang sanzang qujing shihua* 大唐三藏取經詩話, *Guben xiaoshuo jicheng* 古本小說集成, Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 1990, Series IV, Vol. 1, p. 50. Xuanzang's translation of the *Heart Sutra* was one of the most widely recited Buddhist scriptures in China and was closely related to the cult of Avalokiteśvara. The scripture also occupies a very important place in the tradition of Tibetan Buddhism.

course, very curious especially when we found that the biography of a Chan master in the Ming period mentions that the *Heart Sutra* was first imparted to him by a Tibetan "lama" (see "Appendix" in this chapter). This does not seem to be merely coincidental.

1.2.8 The *Huayanjing* from Tibet

During the reign of Chongzhen 崇禎, Mu Zeng 木增 (the Moso chieftain of Li Jiang 麗江, Yunnan)[92] obtained a rare Tang manuscript from India Minor, that is to say, Tibet. The Chinese text was missing in China but had been preserved in Tibet. It was called "The Secret Copy of the *Huayanjing* (*Avataṃsaka-sūtra*)" (*Huayanjing michao* 華嚴經祕抄). It was said that Mu Zeng brought the text to Mao Zijin 毛子晉 (1599-1659), the famous bibliophile and publisher who owned the great library Jiguge 汲古閣, to have it printed.[93]

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[92] Cf. Edouard Chavannes, "Documents historiques et géographiques relatifs à li-kiang", *T'oung pao* 13 (1932): 565-653.

[93] Wang Yingkui 王應奎, *Liunan suibi* 柳南隨筆 (*Jieyue shanfang huichao* 借月山房彙抄) *juan* 1. Note that Mu Zeng was the very person who invited the fourth Zhwa dmar pa Chos kyi dbang phyug (1584-1636) to edit the 'Jang sa tham / Li thang Kanjur.

The Mu clan of 'Jang sa tham was entrusted by the Ming court to guard the Yunnan frontier against the Tibetans. In the biography of the second 'Phags pa lha, 'Phags pa Sangs rgyas (1507-1566), we read that "Chinese army" killed many people and destroyed many religious objects in Tibet (*rgya dmag bod du slebs dus mi mang po bsad/ rten gsum mang po bshigs skad*) and, as the *sa tham rgyal po* explained, this happened not because he was ignorant of the dharma but rather because he was appointed by the Chinese emperor to guard

1.2.9 India Major and India Minor

In the *Xifanguan yiyu*, Ch. *xitian* 西天 translates Tib. *rgya gar* "India".[94] However, on many occasions, Xitian refers to Tibet rather than to India.[95]

Tibet was regarded, first, as India Minor (Xiaoxitian) but, soon, it came to displace India as India Major (Daxitian).

In his *Shuzhong guangji* 蜀中廣記 (*Extensive Records of Sichuan*), Cao Xuequan 曹學佺 (1574-1647) writes that Dbus-Gtsang was adjacent to India,

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the frontier (*ngos chos ma go ba min te rgya nag rgya pos sa mtha' srung bar bzhag pas*) (PPL: 13). This implies that the "Chinese army" was actually the Moso army. In the Wanli period, the Mu clan became increasingly powerful and frequently led Moso soldiers to attack the Tibetans (Yu Qingyuan 余慶遠, *Weixi jianwen ji* 維西見聞紀, Taibei: Guangwen Shuju, 1968, p. 1: 萬曆間，麗江土知府木氏寖強，日率麼些兵攻吐番地). As we read in an MSL entry for October 9, 1603, since the Ming government was to be always wary of a possible Tibetan threat (國家當歲歲有吐番之防), it was refrained from doing anything that might cause it to lose the support of the Mu clan (MSL 113: 7295). This indicates the significant role played by the Mosos in the rivalry between the Chinese and the Tibetans, an important subject for future studies.

[94] Nishida Tatsuo, *Seibankan yakugo no kenkyū: Chibetto gengokaku josetsu*, Kyoto: Shōkadō, 1970, p. 112; cf. Walther Heissig, *Die Pekinger lamaistischen Blockdrucke in mongolischer Sprache*, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1954, p. 145, note 1.

[95] For example, Yuan Zhongche 袁忠徹 (1376-1458) wrote that the deposed Song emperor became a Buddhist monk entitled "Hezun (Tib. *lha btsun*) Dashi 合尊大師" and went to Xitian to study Buddhism (*Xitian shou Fofa* 西天受佛法), see Yuan Zhongche, *Futai waiji* 符臺外集 (*Siming congshu* 四明叢書 14), 2: 21b. The place named Xitian here could only be Tibet, cf. 3.1, note 14.

giving rise to the distinction between Daxitian and Xiaoxitian.[96] But elsewhere, still in the same book, he refers to Dbus-Gtsang as Daxitian![97]

1.2.10 Tibetan Terriers

A welcomed tributary item from Tibet in Ming times was the Tibetan terrier (*Lhasa apso*) which was known as "the furry dog of India Major" (*Daxitian maogou* 大西天毛狗)[98] or "the Tibetan dog" (*fanquan* 蕃犬).[99]

1.2.11 The Script of India Minor

The Qing scholar Quan Zuwang 全祖望 (1705-1755) informed us of the very interesting fact that Liu Jizhuang 劉繼莊 (Liu Xianting 劉獻廷, 1648-1695), first inspired by the Huayan letters (*Huayan zimu* 華嚴字母), combined his knowledge of Indian *dhāraṇī* (*Tianzhu tuoluoni* 天竺陀羅尼), the Latin language of the Extreme Occident (Taixi, i.e., Europe) (*Taixi ladinghua* 泰西蠟頂話), the script of India Minor (*Xiaoxitian fanshu* 小西天梵書), the phonetics

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[96] Cao Xuequan, *Shuzhong guangji*, Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 1993, p. 469a.

[97] Cao Xuequan, 463a: 大西天烏思藏 .

[98] MSL 31: 3920.

[99] MSL 3: 1328.

of Arabic (*Tianfang* 天方), Mongolian (*Menggu* 蒙古) and Jurchen (*Nüzhi* 女直) in his study of Chinese rhymes.[100] What is "the script of India Minor"? It probably refers to the Lantsha script that came to China together with Tibetan Buddhism. Here, "India Minor" may be equated with Nepal.

1.2.12 "Indian" Soup Meals

Two "Indian soup meals" (*Xitian chafan* 西天茶飯) are listed in the *Yinshan zhengyao* 飲膳正要, a dietary manual published by the Yuan court in 1330 and reprinted by the Ming court in 1456. These are the Ba'erbu 八兒不 soup and Sasu 撒速 soup, both have been identified as recipes introduced from Nepal (and neighboring Kashmir) via Tibet, the first name being Tib. *bal po* ("Nepal, Nepalese") and the second *se'u* ("pomegranate").[101] As we have said in 1.2.5 above, the Nepalese and Tibetan areas (except for those close to the Chinese border which were called Xifan) were known as Xitian in the Yuan period. Here, again, the name Xitian has nothing to do with India.

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[100] Quan Zuwang, *Liu Jizhuang zhuan* 劉繼莊傳, in *Jieqiting ji* 鮚埼亭集 (*Xuxiu Siku quanshu* 429), p. 220.

[101] See Paul D. Buell and Eugene N. Anderson, *A Soup for the* Qan*: Chinese Dietary Medicine of the Mongol Era as Seen in Hu Szu-hui's* Yin-shan cheng-yao, London / New York: Kegan Paul International, 2000, pp. 219, 233, 278, 302.

There was, from the Yuan to the Ming period, a gradual shift from India to Tibet in the Chinese notion of "India", as a result of the rise of Tibet and the decline of India as the sacred land of Buddhism. This cultural phenomenon cannot be fully appraised without taking into account the Ming emperors' interest in and promotion of Tibetan Buddhism which will be the focus of the subsequent chapters of this study.

Appendix

The Biography of Biantun

匾囤禪師者，號無空，取派曰悟頓，禹州陳氏子也。年踰二十，忽辭父母求出家，父母曰：“此兒引舌過鼻，非常人相，任其去也。”乃投少林寺，禮梵僧喇嘛爲師，掛搭三年。一日，跪於師前，請求法名。師曰：“道本無形，何名之有？”禪師曰：“三世諸佛皆有名字，弟子安得獨無？”師授以《心經》。讀至“五蘊皆空”，豁然大悟，曰：“身尚是幻，何處求名？”一日，手編大囤於師前，師指曰：“匾囤是汝名也！”答曰：“既名匾囤，內也無空。”師曰：“教外別傳，方契此語。”一日，辭師至中條山，修行三月有餘，忽自惟曰：“善財童子向南方參見五十五人，歷百一十城，莊嚴妙行。今住此山中獨善其身者，好直造神仙耳。”去之。後到峨嵋絕頂，結茆以居。一日，見阿彌陀佛手執《大彌陀經》一部，曰：“藏內有經，藏外全無。付授與汝，廣令傳化。”師遂飛錫周流禹內，遍蹈九州。後到京師，遇御馬監中貴張暹等，待以師禮，卜吉祥庵居焉。前後印造《大彌陀經》若干藏。未幾，復返少林。嘉靖四十二年，去少林，再之峨嵋山，欲以終老。行至夔州江中，曰：“道曠無涯，逢人不盡。”登岸，端坐而逝，祥雲結頂，身如金色。徒孫普明等曰：“少室，吾師發身之地。”乃歸骨焉，建塔葬之。

(Fu Mei 傅梅 [fl. 16th-17th centuries], *Song shu* 嵩書, 9: 33-34, in *Xuxiu Siku quanshu* 續修四庫全書, Vol. 725, Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 1995-99)*

Translation

The Chan master Biantun, styled Wukong ("no emptiness"), bearing the name Wudun ("enlightened about 'spontaneous enlightenment'") according to the naming practice of the spiritual lineage, was the son of the Chen family of

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* The biography reads slightly different in Jiang Chao 蔣超 (1624-1673), *Emeishan zhi* 峨眉山志, ed. by Master Yinguang 印光大師 (1862-1940), Shanghai: Guoguang Yinshuju, 1934, 5: 10a-10b:

> 明匾囤禪師，號無空，禹州陳氏子。年踰二十，忽辭父母求出家，父母曰："此兒引舌過鼻，非常人也。"任其去。乃投少林寺，禮梵僧喇嘛為師，掛搭三年。一日，從師請求法名。師曰："道本無形，何名之有？"固請，師授以《心經》。讀至"五蘊皆空"，豁然大悟，曰："身尚是幻，何處求名？"一日，手編大囤於師前，師指曰："匾囤是汝名也！"答曰："既爲匾囤，爲甚麼空？"師曰："教外別傳，方契此語。"一日，辭師至中條。後到峨眉絕頂，結茅以居。一日，見阿彌陀佛手執《大彌陀經》一部，曰："藏內有經，藏外全無。付授與汝，廣令傳化。"禪師遂飛錫周流宇內，遍蹈九州，後到京師，居吉祥庵，前後印造《大彌陀經》若干藏。未幾，復還少林。嘉靖四十二年，再之峨眉山，欲以終老。行至夔州江中，曰："道曠無涯，逢人不盡。"登岸端坐而逝，祥雲結頂，身如金色。

Yuzhou.[1] When he was over twenty years old, he suddenly asked his parents for permission to become a Buddhist monk. His parents said: "This son can extend his tongue to his nose. This is the mark of no ordinary man.[2] Let him go!" So he went to the Shaolin monastery[3] to revere a Tibetan lama (*fanseng lama*)[4] as his teacher and sojourned there for three years. One day, he prostrated before the teacher, asking for a religious name. The teacher said: "The Tao is pristinely formless. Where is the place for a name?" He replied: "Even the Buddhas of the Three Times have names, how could your disciple have none?" So the teacher

[1] Yuzhou is in Henan province.

[2] In this connection, the reader of a Buddhist biography as this is reminded of the following:

(1) This suggests that Biantun had never told a lie in at least three successive lives. What is being implied here is that Biantun was born an honest man, just like the Tathāgatas of the Three Times in the Ten Directions are no liar.
(2) That his parents recognized this extremely rare and invaluable quality indicates that they had planted "roots of goodness" (Ch. *shangen* 善根, Tib. *dge rtsa*) in their previous lives.

[3] This being the Shaolinsi in Songshan 嵩山, Henan.

[4] *Fanseng* 梵僧 is not "Indian monk" as one might have assumed. It means, rather, "Tibetan monk". That Tibetan monks were present at Shaolin (a Chan monastery) in the Ming period is an interesting fact of which few have come to be aware. This reminds us of the curious fact that Emperor Wuzong was close to both Tibetan and Shaolin monks (MS: 5034: 番僧及少林僧). A better knowledge of the interaction between Chinese and Tibetan monks in the 14th-17th centuries—our knowledge of which is, strictly speaking, virtually nil—may very well lead us to revise significantly what we know or assume to know about Buddhism in China and Tibet in the Ming period.

imparted to him the *Heart Sutra* (*Xinjing*)[5]. When he read about "the five aggregates are all empty" (*wuyun jie kong*)[6], he was enlightened all of a sudden: "Where could one find a name for even the physical body is illusive?" On another day, he was weaving a big basket before the teacher. The teacher pointed at the basket and said: "Biantun ("flat basket") is your name!" He responded: "Since this is called 'flat basket', there is no emptiness (*wukong*) within." The teacher said: "Only the special transmission outside the [scriptural] teachings (*jiaowai biechuan*) agrees with this saying."[7] One day, he said farewell to his teacher and went to Mt. Zhongtiao[8] where he meditated for some three months. Then he suddenly came to think: "Sudhana journeyed southwards to 110 cities and met with 55 individuals, [both good and bad, so that] he could adorn himself with excellent moral deeds (*zhuangyan miaoheng*).[9] Now, my remaining secluded in this mountain to maintain my personal integrity is but to make me at

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[5] In full, *Boreboluomiduo xin jing* 般若波羅蜜多心經—known frequently in Tibetan as *Shes rab* [*kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i*] *snying po*.

[6] Tib. *phung po lnga po de dag kyang ngo bo nyid kyis stong pa*.

[7] The *jiaowai biechuan* refers to the Chan school. This seems to suggest that this Tibetan monk, though residing in the Shaolin monastery, did not accept the Chan teaching completely.

[8] In Shanxi 山西.

[9] See the *Ru Fajie pin* 入法界品 of the *Huayanjing*.

best a Taoist immortal. [Why should I be so shallow?]" So he left [Mt. Zhongtiao]. Later, he came to Mt. Emei's summit. He built a hut and lived there.[10] One day, he saw Buddha Amitābha, carrying a volume of the *Great Sutra*

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[10] Among China's sacred mountains, Mt. Emei (in Sichuan)—the abode of Bodhisattva Samantabhadra (Ch. Puxian 普賢, Tib. Kun tu bzang po)—is the one closest to Tibet geographically. We are told that the ascetic pilgrim Mingche 明徹 had been to Xiaoxitian 小西天 "India Minor" / Tibet (*Emeishan zhi*, 5: 18b). After Master Wuqiong (無窮大師) had built new temples on the mountain in the last decade of the 16th century, many "Indian monks" (i.e., Tibetan monks) were attracted thereto 五竺梵僧聞風踵至 (*Emeishan zhi*, 5: 19a, 23b). Some time in the first decade of the 17th century, Stag tshang ras pa Ngag dbang rgya mtsho (1574-1651) visited the Samantabhadra Palace (Kun tu bzang po'i pho brang, Ch. Puxian Dian 普賢殿, that is, the Baishui Temple 白水寺) on Mt. Emei (*rgya nag glang chen 'gying ri kun tu bzang po'i pho brang du son*). The *ras pa* (cotton-clad ascetic) stayed with two Chinese monks for several nights (*ha shang hva shang gnyis ka'i sde yod par gnas 'brel la zhag shas bzhugs*) during which time he traveled to Mt Wutai (*ri bo rtse lnga*) in a dream, see Kun dga' lhun grub (1616-1675), *Au ḍi yā ṇa pa Ngag dbang rgya mtsho'i rnam thar legs bris bai ḍūrya dkar po'i rgyud mang*, Chemre: 1968, folio 19r. For Stag tshang ras pa, see also Peter Schwieger, "Stag-tshang ras-pa's exceptional life as a pilgrim", *Kailash* 18 (1996): 81-107.

Among the temples built by Wuqiong on Mt. Emei was the Cisheng'an 慈聖庵 to which the Empress Cisheng (Empress Li) presented a luxurious palace copy of the *Huayanjing* 華嚴經 (*Gaṇḍavyuha-sūtra*) and *Fahuajing* 法華經(*Saddharma- puṇḍarīka*) as well as a palm-leaf scripture in golden ink which had been recited (and thus consecrated) by Tibetan monks (*fanseng chi jinshu beiyejing yihan* 梵僧持金書貝葉經一函) (*Emeishan zhi*, loc. cit.). It seems that the Ming palace had offered special copies of the *Huayanjing* to monasteries other than those on Mt. Emei which had been connected with Samantabhadra, the bodhisattva featured in this very scripture. According to the account found in the *Mdo smad chos 'byung* (probably based on a biography of Dpal ldan bkra shis, for whom, cf. 4.1), a golden copy of the *Huayanjing*, in Chinese and in Tibetan, together with a golden Kanjur (*gser gyi bka' 'gyur/ phal po che rgya nag dang bod kyi yi ger gser gyis bzhengs*) were

of Amitābha (*Da Mituo jing*)[11], saying unto him: "There are sutras within the *piṭaka* but none without.[12] [This sutra] I impart to you. Spread it widely to

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installed in the Lhun grub bde chen gling (i.e., Da Chongjiaosi 大崇教寺 in Minzhou 岷州, Shaanxi) during the reign of the Xuande 宣德 emperor, see MD III: 326, and Wu Jun et al.: 644.

[11] This being the *Amituojing* 阿彌陀經—the title given in *Taishō* is *Fo shuo Amituo Sanyesanfo saloufotan guodu rendao jing* 佛說阿彌陀三耶三佛薩樓佛檀過度人道經 (T362.13)—translated in the third century A. D. by Zhi Qian 支謙, the *upāsaka* from Yuezhi / Rouzhi 月支. The original text was probably in a language (Iranian?) not yet known to us. In China, the scripture was frequently called the *Da Amituojing* in order to distinguish it from the *Amituojing* translated by Kumārajīva 鳩摩羅什 (T366.13).

[12] This saying, again, seems to be in no favor of the Chan. We do not know if Biantun had practised both the Chan and Jingtu 淨土 ("Pure Land") together (so-called *chan jing shuangxiu* 禪淨雙修) since his early years. What is obvious is that he eventually turned to embrace and propagate the Jingtu teaching.

In the early Ming period, the Yinjiang 鄞江 (Zhejiang) monk Miaoxie 妙叶 recorded the *dhāraṇī* for rebirth in the Sukhāvatī land (*Ba yiqie qingzhong yezhang desheng jingtu tuoluoni* 拔一切輕重業障得生淨土陀羅尼) which was transcribed into Chinese by Shaluoba 沙羅巴 based on a Tibetan version. The *dhāraṇī* is found in Miaoxie's *Baowang sanmei nianfo zhizhi* 寶王三昧念佛直指 which is included in Ouyi Zhixu 蕅益智旭, *Jingtu shiyao* 淨土十要, Taibei: Zhongguo Fojiao Wenhuaguan, 1958, pp. 349-350. We do not know if, after Shaluoba, there was any Tibetan monk affiliated with Chinese monks active in the propagation of the Pure Land teaching. The fifth Karma pa De bzhin gshegs pa composed the "Prayer for going to the Land of Bliss" (*Bde ba can du bgrod pa'i smon lam*) near the Yellow River in the Mdo smad region (*mdo smad kyi sa'i cha rma chu'i 'gram du*) (see Karma Chags med et al., *Bde smon phyogs bsgrigs*, Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1994, pp. 192-197) but we have so far no evidence to show that he did contribute to the blossoming of the Pure Land school in Ming China.

educate the people." Therefore the master traveled to the whole country until he came to the capital. There he met eunuchs from the Imperial Stud (*Yuma Jian zhonggui*) such as Zhang Xian etc. who soon revered him as a teacher and had him reside in the Jixiang'an temple. [So he was able to] print a certain sets of the *Great Sutra of Amitābha.*[13] Before long, he returned to Shaolin. In the 42nd year of Jiajing (1563), he left Shaolin and headed to Emei again, intending to spend the rest of his life there. When he was on the river in Kuizhou[14], he said: "The Tao is boundless and inexhaustible." As he came ashore, he sat upright and passed away. Auspicious clouds gathered above his head as the color of his body turned golden-like. His spiritual grandsons such as Puming etc. said: "The Shaoshi mountain[15] was the place where our teacher began his spiritual career." So they brought his relics back [to Shaolin] and built a stupa there.

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[13] Despite the fact that Emperor Jiajing honored Taoism at the expense of Buddhism, eunuchs who were devout Buddhists were still able to sponsor the diffusion of the dharma.

[14] The river seems to be the Qutang Xia 瞿塘峡 in Sichuan.

[15] The Shaolin monastery is located on the Shaoshi mountain.

CHAPTER TWO

The Early Monk-Emperors of Ming China

The advent of Tibetan Buddhism in China, part of the multifarious foreign cultural impact on Chinese society in the aftermath of the Mongol conquest, was due mainly to the lavish patronage of the Mongol Yuan court. With the ouster from power of the last Yuan emperor Toγon Temür in 1368, the welfare of Tibetan Buddhism in China became a matter largely dependent on the attitude of the new Ming emperors. Therefore, from this chapter on, attention shall turn toward the Ming emperors, beginning with the founder of the Ming dynasty, Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋, the Taizu 太祖 emperor (r. 1368-1398).

2.1 The Questionable Patrimony of the Founder of the Ming Dynasty

Zhu Yuanzhang spent his early years as a monk at the Huangjuesi 皇覺寺, a Buddhist monastery in Anhui 安徽, but later became a mendicant until, in 1352, he joined the mass uprising to overthrow the Yuan dynasty incited by the White Lotus Society. The secret society's propaganda suggested that Bodhisattva Maitreya had descended to earth, reborn as the messianic King of Light (Mingwang 明王), to disperse the darkness of the Mongol rule. Indeed, Daming 大明 "Great Light, Great Splendor" was the name of the new dynasty he was to

establish sixteen years later, and the fire (from the five elements) was to be chosen to symbolize the glory of the dynasty.[1] All this seems to point to Manichaean and Zoroastrian influences, although *mingwang* was also the very Chinese term for Sanskrit *vidyārāja* (Tibetan *rig pa'i rgyal po*) in tantric contexts. In China, a dynastic name (*guohao* 國號) was derived from the name of a smaller state where the founder hailed from. This tradition was broken by the Jurchens and Mongols who established the Jin and Yuan dynasties respectively. While his rivals (the Chinese warlords such as Zhang Shicheng 張士誠, Chen Youliang 陳友諒 etc.), vying for control of the whole state, had proclaimed a *guohao* in accordance with the Chinese tradition, Zhu Yuanzhang's "Daming" was a continuation of the Jin and Yuan practice. In addition, it echoed the imperial title of the founder of the Khitan Liao dynasty, Yelü Abaoji 耶律阿保機, namely, Dasheng Daming Tianhuangdi 大聖大明天皇帝 "Divine Emperor of Great Sageliness and Great Splendor".[2] Dasheng Daming Huangdi 大聖大明皇帝 "Emperor of Great Sageliness and Great Splendor" was also the very imperial

[1] Liu Chen 劉辰, *Guochu shiji* 國初事蹟, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1991, p. 14: 太祖以火德王, 色尚赤.

[2] *Liaoshi* 遼史, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1974, p. 1.

title the founder of the Jin dynasty Aguda 阿骨打 had sought to proclaim.[3] But what is more puzzling is Zhu Yuanzhang's own ancestry.

The eighteenth-century Mongol scholar Mgon po skyabs writes in his *Rgya nag chos 'byung* (*History of Buddhism in China*) that "the genealogical origin of the Daming [royal clan] is difficult to trace" (*dva'i ming gi rigs khungs rtsad chod dka'*).[4] This is understandable, since one should always be cautious not to lend too much credence to what the Chinese official records have to say on this kind of matter. Some clues, however, are provided by Xu Zhenqing 徐禎卿 (1479-1511) who records the Zhu pedigree as recounted by the Taizu emperor himself (*zixu* 自敘). The names given therein are all numeral names (such as Liu'er 六二, Bailiu 百六, Sijiu 四九, Wuyi 五一 etc.) with the exception of Zhu's father bearing the name Shizhen 世珍.[5] Needless to say, his father's name was modified to be more "elegant" (i.e., more typically Chinese) after he had seized political power, as was his own name Yuanzhang. Although the grandsons of Wuyi (Shizhen's brother) were not named numerically, their names (Saige 賽哥, Tiege 鐵哥, Zhuan'er 轉兒, Sao'er 臊兒 etc.) were typical of a naming

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[3] Cui Wenyin, *Dajin guozhi jiaozheng* 大金國志校證, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1986, p. 15.

[4] RN: 40.

[5] *Jiansheng yewen* 翦勝野聞 (*Siku cunmu congshu* 四庫存目叢書 240), p. 124b.

practice among the Khitans and Jurchens.[6] If the Zhus hailed from, say, Hebei or Shandong, we may consider that they were Northerners who had been exposed to a strong Altaic influence. In this respect, Zhu Yuanzhang's claim that his ancestors migrated from Jinling (Nanjing, the Ming capital city) to Anhui can only arouse the suspicion that he was making up the story to glorify his lineage.

Interestingly enough, the Mongolian chronicle *Altan tobči* refers to Zhu Yuanzhang as the "son named J̌üü of an old man of the Jurchens" (*J̌ürčid ebügen-ü ǰüü nere-tü köbegün*) who was addressed J̌üge.[7] J̌üge as a personal name is not unattested in Chinese sources. Činggis Qan's sworn comrade, the Khitan man Yelü Tuhua (*Tuqa) 耶律禿花 had a son named Zhuge 朱哥 who inherited the title Zongling Yeke Noyan 總領也可那延 "Commander-in-chief, the grandee".[8] As I have shown elsewhere, the Chinese kinship term *ge* 哥 goes back to a Turko-Khitan endearment suffix and was used to transcribe *-ka / -kä, -ga / -gä* in Khitan, Jurchen and Mongol personal names.[9] Considering that

[6] This is treated in greater detail in my *Materials for a Genealogy of the Niohuru Clan*, "Preface", which I hope to publish in the near future.

[7] C. R. Bawden, *The Mongol Chronicle Altan Tobči*, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1955, pp. 63-64, 149-150.

[8] YS: 3532. Mongolian *yeke noyan* means "grand seigneur".

[9] See the work mentioned in note 6 above.

Yuanzhang was not his original name and that he had nephews named Saige and Tiege, we cannot simply dismiss the name Jüge as mere fabrication. The *Erdeni-yin tobči* has J̌üge as a *noyan* who complotted with the Chinese (*kitad*) to revolt against Toγon Temür.[10] The Tibetan history *Deb ther dmar po* also attributes the downfall of the Mongol regime in the Yuan capital city to the revolt of *sog po'i mi dpon* "officer(s) of the Sog po (who might or might not be Mongol)"[11]. The fifth Dalai Lama Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho's (1617-1682) Tibetan history refers to Zhu Yuanzhang as Gru tha la <thal> gru[12] (< Zhu Taizu 朱太祖), adding no information to what the Chinese and Mongolian sources can offer.

Thus the matter of the first Ming emperor's ethnic origin has to be left *in dubio*. As so often with the Ming emperors, we probably will never know the truth.

2.2 Uncertainties

The ex-monk, having declared a new era he named Hongwu 洪武 "Overwhelming Force", proved to be one of the most distrustful and merciless

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[10] Minoru Gō, I. de Rachewiltz, J. Krueger, B. Ulaan eds., *Erdeni-yin tobči: a Mongolian Chronicle of 1662*, Canberra: Faculty of Asian Studies, The Australian National University, 1990-1, 46v.

[11] DD: 32.

[12] BD: 194.

emperors in the history of China, reminding one of his ugly and terrifying image in a famous Ming portrait. In the Mongolian chronicle *Erdeni-yin tobči*, he appears in Toγon Temür's dream as an iron-teethed wild boar (*temür soyoγa-tu bodong γaqai*).[13] Paṇ chen Bsod nams grags pa's (1478-1554) history refers to him as "the hog-faced emperor of China" (*rgya nag phag gdong rgyal po*), making him like a tantric deity![14] Obviously, his last name Zhu had been associated with *zhu* 豬 "hog, pig", a pun well known in Ming times.[15]

Throughout his reign, Zhu Yuanzhang held a capricious attitude toward Buddhist monks.

In 1372, Zhu Yuanzhang gathered renowned Chinese monks in Zhongshan 鍾山, Nanjing, to be present at a large religious feast which, allegedly, was held

[13] See note 10 above.

[14] DDG: 47b. A gloss alleges that the information was derived from Chinese archives (*rgya nag yig tshang las 'byung zer*). One wonders what Chinese sources he consulted. The eighteenth-century Chinese writer Wu Changyuan 吳長元 witnessed the painting of a "blue-faced and hog-headed" (藍面豬首) deity in a Tibetan temple of the Chongguo monastery (*Chongguosi Fansengshe* 崇國寺番僧舍), see *Chenyuan zhiyu* 宸垣識餘, Taibei: Guangwen Shuju, 1968, p. 27. It does not seem that Wu was aware of the Ming emperor's being transformed into such a deity by the Tibetans.

[15] In 1519, the Wuzong emperor even proceeded to ban hog-raising on the ground that the name for the animal is homophonous with the royal clan name, cf. my *Shaykh 'Âlam: the Emperor of Early Sixteenth-Century China* (*Sino-Platonic Papers* 110), Philadelphia: AMES, UPenn, 2000, p. 10.

to appease those killed during wartime. There Zhu Yuanzhang was pleased to meet with the Chinese monk Wenkang 文康. Zhu bestowed on Wenkang a poem which he composed in response to Wenkang's *Song of [a mendicant] carrying an alms-bowl* (*Tuobo Ge* 托鉢歌). On this occasion, Zhu's advisor Song Lian[16], who recommended Wenkang to Zhu, extolled the emperor's remarkable eloquence in Buddhist discourse and added that the emperor was without doubt the *nirmāṇakāya* of a Bodhisattva (*pusa yingshen* 菩薩應身)[17] who was reborn to be the ruler of Jambudvīpa (*chushi wei Yanfuti wang* 出世爲閻浮提王).[18]

An Indian monk, known by the Chinese name Zhikong 指空 (lit., "pointing at emptiness"), was present in China and Korea in the 1320s-1360s. Zhikong joined a North Indian Mahā-paṇḍita (Mohe banteda 摩訶班特達), whom he met

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[16] The Zhejiang scholar Song Lian (1310-1381) was the most revered Confucian scholar and historian of his time. He also pursued Buddhist studies and was close to a number of Buddhist monks. One must not forget, too, that he had also been a Taoist priest bearing the name Yuanzhenzi 元貞子 and the title Xianhua Daoshi 仙華道士, see Dai Liang 戴良 (1317-1383), *Song Song Jinglian ru Xianhua wei daoshi xu* 送宋景濂入仙華爲道士序, in Dai Liang *Jiuling shanfang ji* 九靈山房集 (*Congshu jicheng chubian* 叢書集成初編 2092), Shanghai: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1935, p. 33.

[17] Whether this bodhisattva-messiah should be identified with Maitreya or Avalokiteśvara is not stated *expressis verbis*.

[18] See Song Lian's *Gongti Cihe Tuopo Ge hou* 恭題賜和托鉢歌後 in his *Luanpo Houji* 鑾坡後集, *Song Wenxiangong quanji* 宋文憲公全集 (*Sibu beiyao*), Shanghai: Zhonghua Shuju, 1930s, 9: 10b.

in Tibet (Xifan 西蕃), to travel to China.[19] While in Yunnan (then under the Mongols), he acquired fluency in the language of the native people. His non-conformisms and eccentricities, which might have been interpreted as characteristic of a Tibetan *smyon pa* or a Chinese Chan master, won him some repute among the Yuan nobles.[20] Zhu Yuanzhang wrote favorably about this Indian monk, saying that "[Zhikong] alone is unlike those mediocre and foolish [monks]" (*du bulei fanyu zhi tu* 獨不類凡愚之徒)[21]—a rare approbation from

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[19] *Fanseng Zhikong Chanshi zhuan kao* 梵僧指空禪師傳考, T2089.51: 984a; an English translation can be found in Arthur Waley, "New Light on Buddhism in Medieval India", in *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques*, Vol. 1 (1931-32): 355-376. See also GSWS: 102. It is notable that two *dhāraṇī* texts in Chinese transcription were attributed to Zhikong, namely, *Guanzizai Pusa guangda yuanman wu'ai dabeixin datuoluoni* 觀自在菩薩廣大圓滿無礙大悲心大陀羅尼, *Guanshiyin Pusa shishi* 觀世音菩薩施食 (ZGMZ2 6: 685, 687), both are associated with the cult of Avalokiteśvara.

[20] T2089.51: 982c.

[21] See *You xin'an ji* 遊新庵記 as well as *Seng Zhihui Niushou Shan an ji* 僧智輝牛首山庵記, QMW: 180-181, 184-185.

In 1369, Zhu Yuanzhang sent his officers to collect historical facts concerning the reign of Toγon Temür. The results seem to have been published only privately by Liu Xia 劉夏 (Liu Dijian 劉迪簡) as *Gengshendi dashiji* 庚申帝大事記 largely based on the information provided by Chang Zhongzhi 暢忠之 (grandson of Chang Chunfu 暢純甫, i.e., Chang Shiwen 暢師文 given in YS: 3995) who initially served Gong Bosui 龔伯遂 (who belonged to the clique of Toγto·a 脫脫, the premier of Toγon Temür) and later became a Buddhist monk and served Zhikong in the Yuan capital. After Zhikong's death, Chang Zhongzhi lived in seclusion in a mountain before he was invited to serve Köke [Temür] (擴廓 [帖木兒], the

the emperor! It was, however, with another *paṇḍita* (*bandida* 板的達) that Zhu soon came to be in contact.[22] This pundit, reportedly came from India, bore the name Sahezanshili 薩曷揝室哩 (in Chinese transcription) or Jusheng Jixiang 具生吉祥 (in Chinese translation).[23] Hence his name in Sanskrit: Sahajaśrī (Skr. *sahaja* = Ch. *jusheng* = Tib. *lhan skyes* "congenital, innate"; Skr. *śrī* = Ch. *jixiang* = Tib. *dpal* "splendrous"). An entry for the *jiazi* day of the eleventh month of the seventh year of Hongwu (December 6, 1374) in the Ming official records reads:

> 詔以西竺僧班的達撒哈咱失理爲善世禪師，朵兒只怯列失思巴藏卜爲都綱副禪師，御製誥賜之。[24]

Mongolized Chinese warlord whom the Ming army never managed to subdue). Chang Zhongzhi was without doubt a first-hand witness to the many tremendous political changes that took place in the last decades of Toγon Temür's reign. See "Yuan Gengshendi dashiji xu" 元庚申帝大事記序, in *Liu Shangbin wenji* 劉尙賓文集 (*Xuxiu Siku quanshu* 1326), p. 85b.

[22] See Zhu's *Bandida dingxiang zan* 板的達頂相讚, QMW: 220.

[23] Zhiguang 智光, *Xitian Bandida chanshi zhilue* 西天班的答禪師誌略 (Ge Yinliang 葛寅亮, *Jinling fancha zhi* 金陵梵刹志, Taibei: Guangwen Shuju, 1976, pp. 1216-1220). Sahajaśrī and his disciple Kumaraśrī 古麻辣室哩 came to the Ming court on January 14, 1371 (MSL 3: 1165), but he was already in China during Toγon Temür's reign.

[24] MSL 4: 1636.

> By decree, the Indian (Xizhu) monk Paṇḍita Sahajaśrī was appointed Shanshi Chanshi ("the Chan Master who betters the world") while Rdo rje bkra shis dpal bzang po (Duo'erzhiqielieshisibazangbu) was appointed Dugang[25] Fuchanshi ("Discipline Overseer, the Vice-Master of Chan"); imperial edicts were conferred upon them.

The complete texts of the edicts are found in Song Lian's collected writings, indicating that they were drafted by Song Lian on behalf of the emperor.[26] There we learn that Rdo rje bkra shis dpal bzang po was Helin Guoshi, that is, State

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[25] Professor Wang Yao once wrote that Dugang 都綱 was a Tibetan word meaning "chanting hall" without giving its Tibetan form (*'du khang*?), see his "Chengde Anyuanmiaobei kaoshi 承德安遠廟碑考釋" (Wang Yao, *Xizang wenshi kaoxin ji*, Taibei: Foguang Chubanshe, 1990, p. 183). In fact, *dugang* is a Chinese word synonymous with *duji* 都紀, both meaning "[one who] oversees discipline" (Ch. *gang* and *ji* mean "discipline", so do the binoms *jigang* and *gangji*), the former being granted to Buddhist clerics affiliated with the Surveillance Office of Buddhist Discipline (Senggang si 僧綱司) and the latter to Taoist priests affiliated with the Surveillance Office of Taoist Discipline (Daoji si 道紀司) to help the government to control religious communities in the state. As for the title of Shanshi ("bettering the world"), see its official explanations preserved in Song Ne 宋訥, *Xiyin wengao* 西隱文稿, Taibei: Wenhai Chubanshe, 1970, pp. 413-414.

[26] See *Xitian seng Sahazanshili shou Shanshi Chanshi gao* 西天僧撒哈咱失理授善世禪師誥 and *Helin Guoshi Yun <Duo> erzhiqielieshisibazangbu shou Dugang Chanshi gao* 和林國師孕<朵> 兒只怯列失思巴藏卜授都綱禪師誥, Song Lian, *Song Wenxiangong quanji* 宋文憲公全集 (*Sibu beiyao*), Shanghai: Zhonghua Shuju, 1930s, 12: 1.

Preceptor of the Mongol regime in Qaraqorum. According to a biographical sketch written by Sahajaśrī's Chinese disciple Zhiguang 智光, Sahajaśrī was also granted a silver seal and was entrusted "to head Buddhist clergies in the state".[27] Zhu made him reside in Zhongshan, close to the Ming palace. In the fall of 1376, he was sent by the emperor "for pilgrimage to Mahāsattva Avalokiteśvara's [abode] Mt. Potalaka" (*you Guanyin Dashi zhi Baotuoluoqieshan* 遊觀音大士之寶陀羅伽山), the sacred islet off the northeastern coast of Zhejiang province[28]. What is curious is his failure to realize his dream of taking up residence in Mt. Wutai (Wutaishan 五臺山) which was what had actually motivated him to travel to China. He passed away in June 1381.[29]

It appears that, in the 1370s, Zhu Yuanzhang was interested in Indian Buddhism to such an extent that, in 1378, he sent the famous Zhejiang Chan

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[27] Ge Yinliang, *Jinling fancha zhi* 金陵梵刹志, Taibei: Guangwen Shuju, 1976, p. 1218: 總天下釋教.

[28] We shall come back to this island in 3.1.

[29] Ge Yinliang, op. cit., pp. 1218-1219. This is puzzling because Zhu Yuanzhang had issued a decree convincing the Indian monk to feel free to travel anywhere in China at his convenience and not to be "confounded by ignorant ones" that he could leave the capital only by decree (QMW: 99). The decree, though undated, must have been issued after the Indian monk's visit to Putuoshan in view of the fact that the visit is mentioned therein. In the Indian monk's biography in Zhencheng's 鎮澄 (1547-1617) *Qingliang Shan zhi* 清涼山志, his decease is interpreted as his departure to Mt. Wutai, see *Wutai Shan zhi* 五臺山志, Yangzhou: Jiangsu Guangling Guji Keyinshe 江蘇廣陵古籍刻印社, 1997, p. 138.

master Zongle 宗泐 (1318-1391) and some thirty men to India to collect Buddhist scriptures (*wang Xitian qujing* 往西天取經) that were no longer extant in China.[30] Zongle was to return in December 1381, bringing along with him tributary missions from the Commandery of Mnga' ris (Elisi Junmin Yuanshuaifu 俄力思軍民元帥府, 俄 being pronounced [ŋo]) and the Phag [mo] gru [pa] Myriarchy (Bazhe <zhu?> Wanhufu 巴者 <著?> 萬戶府), both were set up on February 10, 1375.[31] Even though Zongle eventually reached the Indian subcontinent, he certainly could not find a Buddhist India. We have no idea whether the scriptures he presented to the court were acquired in India or, rather, in Nepal and Tibet.

In 1380, Zongle was making his way back eastward in the company of Tibetan missions, unaware of a tempest that was brewing over the horizon, when Zhu Yuanzhang suddenly unseated his prime minister Hu Weiyong 胡惟庸 on a

[30] Qian Qianyi 錢謙益, *Liechao shiji xiaozhuan* 列朝詩集小傳, Shanghai: Gudian Wenxue Chubanshe, 1957, p. 667. For more details on Zongle's mission, see Enoki Kazuo, "Tsung-lê's Mission to the Western Regions in 1378-1382", in *Oriens Extremus* 19.1 (1972): 47-53, and Deng Ruiling, "Mingchao chunian chushi Xiyu sengren Zongle shiji bukao 明朝初年出使西域僧人宗泐事跡補考", in *Lishi dili* 歷史地理 10 (1992b): 228-238.

[31] MSL 4: 1650 (where the myriarchy is referred to as Pamuzhuba 帕木竹巴). However, an edict dated the second month of the sixth year of Hongwu (1373) which appointed a certain 搠思公失監 (Chos skyong [Bkra] shis rgyal m[tshan]?) as Commander-in-chief (Yuanshuai) of the Commandery of Mnga' ris was reproduced in SD: 23. This suggests that certain chronological errors have crept into MSL.

charge of treason. Living in mistrust of all of his ex-comrades who had assisted him in founding the Daming, Zhu Yuanzhang, without precedent in China's history, abolished the office of the premier permanently. Hu Weiyong, having been sentenced to death, was found to have sought secret alliance with the Japanese who had been harassing the coastal regions of Zhejiang. Hu's case soon implicated tens of thousands of victims. Even Song Lian, though spared execution thanks to an appeal by Empress Ma 馬 (Zhu's Muslim wife), was banished and died *en route* to Maozhou 茂州, the Tibetan-inhabited region in Sichuan. Zongle was accused, in 1391, of being bribed by Hu to persuade the Tibetans to take concerted action to bolster Hu's alleged mutiny (*shui Tufan jubing wei waiying* 說土番舉兵爲外應). More than sixty Buddhist monks pleaded guilty and were executed.[32] Zongle was about to be cast to feed tigers in Fengyang 鳳陽, the emperor's home district in Anhui, before he was pardoned. The aged monk, however, did not weather the storm and died in the same year.[33]

To understand why the Tibetans should get involved in this matter, we need to look retrospectively at the Sino-Tibetan conflicts in the Yuan-Ming transition period.

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[32] Qian Qianyi, op. cit. (see note 30 above).

[33] Zha Jizuo, 查繼佐, *Zuiwei lu* 罪惟錄, Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji Chubanshe, 1986, p. 2500.

2.3 Curbing the Threat from the Tibetan Border

The Yuan under Toγon Temür used the Hans—an ethnic category that encompassed Northern Chinese as well as Khitan and Jurchen descendants or the products of intermarriage thereof—to fight Tibetan rebels on the Sino-Tibetan borders. This was a measure calculated by the Mongol upper class, then fractious and feeling insecure, to reduce casualties among Mongol militia at the expense of the Hans, as can be deduced from the following records:

> 弛鞏昌總帥府漢人軍器之禁。[34]
>
> [October 1336:] The restriction of weaponry imposed on the Hans was loosened in the Commandery of Gongchang [which was charged with suppressing Tibetan upheavals].

> 禁漢人、南人、高麗人不得執持軍器，凡有馬者拘入官。[35]
>
> [May 1337:] The Hans, the Southerners (Southern Chinese), the Koreans are not allowed to hold weapons, and anyone of them who owns horses is to be arrested [and the horses forfeited].

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[34] YS: 836.

[35] YS: 839. Cf. the decree issued in January 1322 which prohibited the Hans from owning weapons, hunting and learning martial arts (YS: 619). See also Wei Su, *Yuan gu Fengyi Dafu Xing Xuanzhengyuan Jingli Wang Gong muzhiming* 元故奉議大夫行宣政院經歷王公墓志銘, in *Wei Taipu wen xuji* 危太樸文續集, *juan* 5.

弛高麗執持軍器之禁，仍令乘馬 [...]；漢人鎮遏生蕃處，亦開軍器之禁。[36]

[September 1337:] The restriction of weaponry imposed on the Koreans was loosened and they were allowed to ride horses as before [...]; in the regions where the Hans are [charged with] suppressing Raw Tibetans (Shengfan, that is, Tibetans that had not come in good terms with the Yuan government), the ban on weaponry was removed too.

伯顏請殺張、王、劉、李、趙五姓漢人，帝不從。[37]

[1337:] Bayan urged that genocide be carried out against the five Han clans, Zhang, Wang, Liu, Li, and Zhao [that make up the largest proportion of Chinese population]. The emperor did not consent.

土番宣慰司軍士，許令乘馬，執兵器。[38]

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[36] YS: 841.

[37] YS: 843.

[38] YS: 844.

> [June 1338:] The soldiers under the Commission of the Pacification of Tibet (Tufan Xuanweisi) are allowed to ride horses and hold weapons.

What we learn from these records is that the Mongols had disarmed the Hans and deprived them of horse transport to incapacitate Han insurgency; the Hans were only re-armed on the Sino-Tibetan border regions when Tibetan uprisings broke out there. This Mongolian tactic ensured that tense relationship between the border Tibetans and Chinese prevailed. The case of Li Siqi 李思齊, the Chinese warlord who fought for the Yuan regime to resist the Ming take-over, can best illustrate the Tibetan suspicion toward the Chinese.

When Zhu Yuanzhang's Grand General (Da Jiangjun 大將軍) Xu Da 徐達 (1332-1385) strategized to capture Lintao 臨洮 (or Shing kun in Tibetan, in Shaanxi 陝西 province), then under Li Siqi, to facilitate the conquest of neighboring regions, it was clear to all that Li Siqi could either surrender to the Ming or withdraw to Tibet. At that critical moment, the border Tibetans were troubled by the rumor that Li Siqi's army was coming. To cite the fourth Karma pa Rol pa'i rdo rje's (1340-1383) biography in the *Deb ther sngon po*:

> *de nas pu ṇya dha ris lu pe shan du gdan drangs pa na/ li tsi tsi'i dmag 'ong ba'i skad chen po byung bas/ zhal brdas ngas sems*

can la gnod pa ma byas pa'i bden pas dmag mi 'ong gsung nas dbugs phyung/ [39]

Thereafter, when [the Mongol princess] Puṇyadharī invited [Rol pa'i rdo rje] to Lu pe shan (Liupanshan 六盤山), because the rumor of the coming of the troops of Li tsi tsi (Tibetan transcription of Li Siqi) was widespread, he said, "Since it is true that I have done no harm to the sentient beings, [Chinese] troops should not come," and relieved them [from their apprehension of possible Chinese occupation].

Li Siqi was, as it turned out, betrayed by his "adopted son" Zhao Qi 趙琦 alias Toγto·a Temür 脫脫帖木兒—an "aboriginal officer" (*tuguan* 土官) and a native of Didao 狄道, Shaanxi—and his crew who escaped with Li's provisions and

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[39] DS: 439 (Vol. *nya*, 45a). Roerich, op. cit., p. 505; cf. KK: 464: *de nas dpon mo pu ṇya dha rīs lu pan shan du gdan drangs pa'i tshe/ li tsi tsi'i dmag nye 'khor du sleb ces thos pas thams cad skrag par gyur cing/ de dang rjes su mthun pa'i zhu ba phul ba'i tshe/ drung gi zhal nas/ nged kyis su la'ang bsam sbyor gang gi sgo nas gnod 'tshe ma myong ba'i phyir/ phyogs bcu nas dmag lhags par gyur kyang 'bros mi dgos la/ khyad par du da lan dmag gi 'jigs pa mi 'byung bas skrag mi 'tshal/ zhes gsungs pa bzhin du rgya dmag rnams kyang log nas yul phyogs bkra shis par gyur/*

Lu pe shan must be Liupanshan (in Shaanxi) instead of "Liu-pin shan" given by Roerich. It was an important military station between Dali 大理 and Lintao which guarded Yunnan and Tibetan peoples. Chinese troops did, however, "come" to the Liupanshan but did not enter Tibet.

womenfolk and sheltered themselves in the high mountain valleys, making Li's retreat to Tibet impossible. Li had to capitulate to the Ming forces led by Feng Zongyi 馮宗異 (Xu Da's Assistant General) in May 1369.[40]

In June 1369, an edict was sent to "Tufan" to inform the Tibetans that China had been re-united under the Daming but the Tibetans refused to submit peacefully.[41] It is evident that what is known as "Tufan" here refers to the Sino-Tibetan borderlands such as Hezhou 河州 (> Tib. Ga chu) and those under the Commission of the Pacification of Tibet of the Yuan, rather than to Tibet's heartland, as it does not seem possible for the Ming envoys to reach there and send back a response within a few days. In the following months, Lintao was invaded by the Tibetans which, again, must be those from the Sino-Tibetan frontiers. The Tibetans were, however, defeated by Commander Wei Zheng 韋正 and his army.[42] In the meantime, the Ming sent three major missions separately to Mdo khams, Dbus and Gtsang. The first mission was dispatched in June 1369 and was headed by a Chinese civil officer Xu Yunde 許允德.[43] The second, dispatched in June 1370, was a Buddhist diplomatic mission—in fact the very

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[40] MSL 2: 822-823.

[41] MSL 2: 827: *Tufan wei ji guiming* 吐蕃未即歸命.

[42] MSL 3: 904.

[43] MSL 2: 827.

first of its kind in Ming times so far as our records extend—consisted of three monks, presumably all Chinese, headed by Kexin 克新 who had been active for some time in Jiaxing 嘉興, Zhejiang.[44] The Buddhist mission was also expected to make reliable maps of Tibet's geography.[45] For unknown reasons, we hear no more of these Buddhist cartographers and have no idea of how successful their mission was. The third mission, sent in August 1370, was headed by a certain Kun dga' bsod nams (Gonggesuonan 鞏哥鎖南) who served as an interpreter (Tongshi Sheren 通事舍人) of Tibetan for the Ming government.[46] The Ming record does not indicate whether Kun dga' bsod nams was a Tibetan, a Tibetanized Chinese or what the Tibetans call a *Rgya tsha* (Chinese-Tibetan mix). These peaceful missions had to be supported by successful military actions in the Sino-Tibetan border regions. From Lintao, the Ming troops under Deng Yu 鄧愈 (Xu Da's Assistant General) soon marched into Hezhou in June 1370. The Yuan Commissioner of the Pacification of Tibet (Tufan Xuanweishi 吐蕃宣慰使)

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[44] For Kexin's background, see Deng Ruiling, "Mingchu shi Zang sengren Kexin shiji kao 明初使藏僧人克新事跡考", in *Zhongguo Zangxue* 1 (1992c): 126-133. Note also that in the early Ming, Buddhist clerics were sent as diplomats between China and Japan. See Li Guangming 黎光明, "Ming Taizu qian seng shi Riben kao" 明太祖遣僧使日本考, in *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology* 7.2 (1936), pp. 255-273.

[45] MSL 3: 1036.

[46] MSL 3: 1076-1077.

known by the name He Suonanpu 何鎖 (or 瑣) 南普 [47] whom Xu Yunde's mission had been in touch earlier came to the Ming camp and surrendered the seals authorized by the Yuan government.[48] The Pacification Commissioner then paid tribute to the Ming court in 1371 and was appointed Vice Commander of the newly established Guard of Hezhou (Hezhouwei Zhihui Tongzhi 河州衛指揮同知) under the control of the Chinese Guard Commander (Zhihuishi 指揮使) Wei Zheng.[49] Other Tibetan tribes in the border regions successively submitted to the Ming and new local administrative units were set up accordingly. On 23 November, 1371, the Military Commission of the Guard of Mdo khams (Duoganwei Zhihuishisi 朵甘衛指揮使司) was established.[50] The situation in Mdo khams, however, remained chaotic. A document dated May 23, 1372,

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[47] For this man, cf. E. Sperling, "The Ho Clan of Ho-chou: a Tibetan Family in Service to the Yüan and Ming Dynasties", in Paolo Daffinà ed., *Indo-Sino-Tibetica: Studi in onore di Luciano Petech*, Rome: Bardi, 1990, pp. 359-77. Herbert Franke restored the name as Ho Sodnam Buqa based on 何鎖南普花兒只汪 (taking 普花 as Mongolian *buqa*, [朵]兒只 as Tibetan *rdo rje*, and 汪 as the truncated 汪家奴) found in the *Huangming wenheng* 皇明文衡, see Franke, "Mittelmonglische Glossen in einer arabischen astronomischen Handschrift von 1366", *Oriens* 31 (1988): 116. KK: 461 mentions a certain Dbang rgyal dben shri who may be identified with the *zhiyuan* 知院 Wangjianu 汪家奴 (*wangjia = dbang rgyal*). *Dben shri* should probably be *[ti / tvi] dben shri* [知] 院使.

[48] MSL 3: 1163.

[49] MSL 3: 1163.

[50] MSL 3: 1172.

河州衛言：“烏斯藏怕木竹巴故元灌頂國師章陽沙加 [監藏]，人所信服。今朵甘賞竺監藏與管 [招] 兀 [即] 兒相仇殺，朝廷若以章陽沙加招撫之，則朵甘必內附矣。”

A report from the Guard of Hezhou: "The [Tibetan] people revere and obey 'Jam dbyangs Shākya [rgyal mtshan] of Phag mo gru pa, Dbus, who was entitled Guanding Guoshi by the former Yuan. At present, Byang chub rgyal mtshan and Dkon [mchog] 'od [ze]r of Mdo khams are engaged in internecine feuds. If the government could use 'Jam dbyangs Shākya [rgyal mtshan] to pacify them, surely Mdo khams will submit to China (*neifu* "submit inwards")."

The court immediately decreed that a jade seal be conferred upon Zhangyangshajia ('Jam dbyangs gu shrī Shākya rgyal mtshan [1340-1373], the nephew of Ta'i si tu Byang chub rgyal mtshan) that his title be preserved, and he himself be installed in the Bao'ensi 報恩寺 (a monastery in Hezhou) to "educate the subjects there" (*huadao qi min* 化導其民).[51] It is unknown whether the Ming

[51] MSL 4: 1342.

successfully contacted Shākya rgyal mtshan who was to pass away in 1373. The Ming record only tells us that a certain *qiuzhang* 酋長 ("chieftain") Bsod nams bzang po (Suonanzangbu 鎖南藏卜) sent by Shākya rgyal mtshan paid tribute to the Ming court in February 1373 and later, somewhat mysteriously, the turmoil in Mdo khams was over.[52]

Thanks to Xu Yunde's mission, the Acting Imperial Preceptor (She Dishi 攝帝師) of the Yuan known by the name Nanjiabazangbu 喃加巴藏卜 or Nam mkha' dpal bzang po[53] paid tribute to the Ming in 1373. Zhu Yuanzhang entitled him Chisheng Fobao Guoshi 熾盛佛寶國師 ("The Flaring Jewel of Buddhism, the State Preceptor"). To compensate for this downgrading of the monk's title (from *dishi* to *guoshi*), the emperor troubled to make sure that the jade seal granted to the monk was of excellent quality.[54] We should recall that in 1368, when the Longhushan 龍虎山 Taoist priest Zhang Zhengchang 張正常, formerly

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[52] MSL 4: 1433.

[53] Wang Sen reconstructed his name as Rnam rgyal dpal bzang po (Wang Sen, *Xizang Fojiao shilue*, Beijing: Zhongguo Shehui Kexue Chubanshe, 1997, p. 97) but it might very well be Nam mkha' dpal bzang po. We hardly know anything about his background. Presumably, he was a Sa skya pa.

[54] MSL 4: 1641. The Mongol practice of appointing a *dishi* was borrowed from the Tanguts of the Xixia 西夏 kingdom as already pointed out in Luo Zhao, "Zang-Han hebi *Sheng Shenghui dao bi'an gongde bao jiji* kaolue", in *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 世界宗教研究 4 (1983): 5.

entitled Tianshi 天師 ("Heavenly Teacher") by the Yuan, came to the Ming court, Zhu Yuanzhang changed his title to Zhenren 真人 on the ground that nobody could be Heaven's teacher (Ch. *tianshi* might be read "Heaven's teacher" as well).[55] Likewise, nobody could be the emperor's teacher (Ch. *dishi* > Tib. *ti shri*) for the emperor was the son of Heaven (*tianzi*). Throughout the Ming, no Tibetan high lama was entitled *dishi*. Wherever someone is mentioned in Tibetan sources to have been entitled *ti shri* by the Ming court, we can be sure that a mistake is involved. Whether such a mistake was deliberately made or not is another matter.

Nam mkha' dpal bzang po also recommended Nam mkha' [b]stan pa'i rgyal mtshan (Nangesidanbayijianzang 南哥思丹巴亦監藏), formerly entitled Guogong 國公 (> Tib. *gu'i gung*) by the Yuan, who was to be appointed Vice-Commander of the Guard of Dbus Gtsang (Wusizangwei 烏斯藏衛) which was upgraded in 1374 to the Branch Military Commission of Dbus Gtsang (Wusizang Xing Duzhihuishisi 烏斯藏行都指揮使司).[56]

In December 1374, Snar thang ba mkhan po (Sina'erdangwa kanbu 思納兒党瓦勘卜) sent Bsod nams [rnam] par rgyal ba (Shuonan [nan] ba'erjiawa 搠南

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[55] MS: 7654. Cf. *Yehuobian buyi* 野獲編補遺 (*Xuxiu Siku quanshu* 1174), 1:1: 上於吾儒及釋道二氏精究秘奧，雖專門名家有不及。然崇佛而無封帝師、西天佛之異典，講道而羽流輩無孤卿、伯爵之横 [… …].

[56] MSL 4: 1641.

[南] 巴爾加瓦) to pay tribute to the Ming.[57] Snar thang ba mkhan po refers to the abbot (*mkhan po*) of Snar thang dgon pa, the monastery in Gtsang. The Ming Chinese referred to the abbot as a *tuqiu* 土酋 "aboriginal chief" from Wusi-Zang (< Tib. Dbus Gtsang, here simply refers to Tibet's hinterland). In view of the fact that Xu Yunde returned in May 1374 (and he was to pass away in January 1375 in Hezhou), we can assume that he did not reach Gtsang and that it was most likely Kun dga' bsod nams' mission which took some six years' time that was responsible for getting in touch with the Snar thang monastery. In August 1376, Kun dga' bsod nams the interpreter and his entourage, on their way back, were pillaged by the Tibetans in Chuanzang 川藏, southwest to Hezhou. None of them survived. Deng Yu, assisted by Mu Ying 沐英, led a victorious campaign in July 1377 against Chuanzang where Ming envoys were frequently attacked. Deng Yu died of illness on the way back to the Ming capital in the same year.[58]

On the 24th day of the 6th month of the 10th year of Hongwu (July 29, 1377), Zhu Yuanzhang issued a decree to the Tibetan border tribes in the Qinghai region in which he threatened to launch a campaign against them should they fail to pay tribute to the Ming court. The text we have is in vernacular Chinese. The syntax, however, is often Mongolian. This is typical of the Chinese versions of Yuan and some early Ming official documents. An intermixture of colloquialism and

[57] MSL 4: 1636. The then abbot of Snar thang was Grub pa shes rab (1357-1423).

[58] MSL 5: 1892.

Mongolism renders it difficult to understand accurately this kind of "Chinese" documents. Our text below shows that Zhu Yuanzhang addressed the border Tibetans in Mongolian even though nearly a decade had elapsed since the Yuan was overthrown!

> 奉天承運的皇帝教說與西番地面裏應有的土官每知道者：俺將一切強歹的人都拿了，俺大位子裏坐地有。爲這般上頭，諸處裏人都來我行拜見了。俺與了賞賜名分，教他依舊本地面裏快活去了。似這般呵，已自十年了也。止有西番罕東、畢里巴一撒他每這火人，爲甚麼不將差發來，又不與俺馬匹牛羊。今便差人將俺的言語去，開與西番每知道：若將合納的差發認了，送將來時，便不征他。若不差人將差發來呵，俺著人馬往那裏行也者。教西番每知道："俺聽得說：你每釋迦佛根前、和尚每根前，好生多與布施麼道。那的是十分好勾當，你每做了者，那的便是脩那再生的福有。俺如今掌管著眼前的禍福俚，你西番每怕也那不怕。你若怕時節呵，將俺每禮拜著，將差發敬將來者，俺便教你每快活著，不著軍馬往你地面裏來。你眾西番每知道者。"[59]

[59] QMW: 10. MSL does not include this text.

The emperor who received the fate [to rule] by Heaven's mandate ordered that the aboriginal officers (*tuguanmei*) in the Tibetan regions (Xifan)[60] be informed[61] [of the following]: I had captured all tenacious and heinous villains. I have resided on the throne.[62] Owing to this[63], people from everywhere have come to

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[60] The word *dimian* "land, region" makes the name that precedes it (Xifan) a toponym and does not necessarily require Mo. *γaǰar* in the original.

As noted by Luciano Petech: "Mongol administration followed Sung precedent in designating T'u-fan as the extreme northeast of Tibet, reaching to the old Tsong-kha kingdom and neighboring zones. Hsi-fan was a general name for the Tibetan border tribes in western Szechwan and southern Kansu. The new, purely Tibetan term Wu-ssu-tsang (dBus-gTsang) was adopted for Central Tibet." (L. Petech, "Tibetan Relations with Sung China and with the Mongols", in Morris Rossabi ed., *China among Equals*, London: University of California Press, 1983, p. 185). Nonetheless Xifan was also used as a general term for ethnic Tibetans and, geographically, Tibetan regions. We have seen above that Sino-Tibetan border regions were known as Tufan during the Yuan-Ming transition period. It is therefore not surprising that these regions were referred to in Mongolian as Töböt in Yuan and Ming times. That Ch. Xifan = Mo. Töböt is borne out in the Yuan drama *Xiyou ji* (*Yang Donglai xiansheng piping xiyou ji* 楊東來先生批評西遊記, *Guben xiqu congkan chuji* 古本戲曲叢刊初集, III, p. 30: 西番仛鈚 [Töböt] 地面) and in the *Secret History of the Mongols* §260: "When [you] send us [as if] instigating [your own] Tibetan dogs [... ...]." (*man-i töbödüt noqod-iyan tukirču ile·esü*. See also Eldengtei-Oyun Dalai, *Menggu mishi jiaokanben*, Hohhot: Neimenggu Renmin Chubanshe, 1981, pp. 770, 1044: 將俺如西蕃狗般使去; cf. Francis Cleaves, *The Secret History of the Mongols*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982, p. 202: "When provoking [us], thou sendest us, thy 'Töbödüd dogs,' enemy people, [... ...].")

[61] Ch. *zhidao zhe* = Mo. *mede*.

[62] Ch. *da weizi li* = Mo. *yeke oron-tur* "on the big seat", Ch. *...you* = Mo. *...bui*.

pay me respect.[64] I rewarded them with gifts and titles[65], and had them live happily[66] in their own places *in statu quo ante bellum*. Things have been like this already for ten years. But why do those[67] peoples in the Tibetan regions (Xifan) [such as] Handong (Har gdong) and Bilibaiyisa ('Bri pa'i sa?)[68] not pay tribute, and also not send us horses and livestock? Now, send someone with my message to advise the Tibetans [of the consequences]. If they concede tributes for which they are liable and send them hither, I shall not campaign against them. If they fail to send someone

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[63] Ch. ...*shangtou* (cf. *yinci shang* 因此上, *suoyi shang* 所以上) usually corresponds to Mo. ...*tula* "because of..., for the sake of...". In this case, however, *wei zheban shangtou* most likely reflects Mo. *egüber* "by this". The editor(s) of QMW punctuated this passage wrongly: "...坐地，有爲這般，上頭諸處裏...".

[64] Ch. *woxing* is *wo* "I" plus accusative. This reflects Mo. *namayi*.

[65] Ch. *mingfen*, Mo. *nere*.

[66] Ch. *jiao...kuaihuo* = Mo. *ǰirγaγulqu*.

[67] *tamei* 他每 "those".

[68] "The land of 'Bri". The Chiliad of 'Bri (Bili Qianhusuo 必里千戶所), west of Hezhou, was established on January 4, 1372. It was previously a myriarchy (*wanhufu* 萬戶府) under the Yuan. The name *'bri* was probably related to 'Bri chu, the Yangzi River.

hither to pay me tribute, I shall very likely send troops there.[69] Inform the Tibetans: "According to what I heard[70], you offer very much to Buddha Śākyamuni and to Buddhist monks. That[71] is a very good deed.[72] You have been doing that which is for the bliss of the next life. I am now the one who decides your immediate ill- and well-being.[73] Are you Tibetans afraid or not? If you be afraid, while paying us homage, you should respectfully send tribute hither, then I will let you live happily and will not send troops to your places. You Tibetans be advised of this!"

In 1379, the Tibetans in Taozhou 洮州 (north to the Tao river or, in Tibetan, Klu chu) revolted. The Ming troops led by Mu Ying swiftly seized Taozhou but they could not find the rebel chief Yingsuzi 癭嗉子.[74] Later, Zhu Yuanzhang

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[69] Ch. *he* 呵= Mo. *besü*, Ch. *yezhe* 也者 = Mo. *ǰe*.

[70] Mo. *sonosču*; Ch. *medao* 麼道= Mo. *ke·en*.

[71] *nade* 那的 is an awkward expression invented to reflect Mo. *tere*.

[72] Ch. *hao goudang* = Mo. *sayin üyile*.

[73] Ch. *lɛ* 俚 = Mo. *buyu*.

[74] QMW: 119 has the name in the form Yingsuzi 穎嗉子.

observed that Venus appeared in the east (*Taibai xian dongfang* 太白見東方) and moved westwards from May 9 to 14, 1379. This was interpreted as guaranteeing the triumph of westward expeditions. On May 15, Mu Ying received the imperial order to seize this opportunity to pursue "the Tibetan raiders" (*fankou* 番寇). Somewhat earlier, Zhu Yuanzhang instructed confidentially to have all "aboriginal chiefs" be sent to the capital by force. However this plan was cancelled when, on August 5, Venus infringed upon the zone of the third star of μ Geminorum (金星犯井東第三星), warning against further military unrest.[75] Eventually in October, Mu Ying attacked Yingsuzi's army, obtaining the much-wanted Tibetan leader who was to be sent to the capital and decapitated there.[76] Mu Ying died in 1392 in which year the Ming troops under Lan Yu 藍玉 pacified Har gdong.[77] A Tibetan monk in Xining 西寧 known by the name Sanla 三剌 was responsible for writing on behalf of the Ming to obtain full submission of the border tribes there. Recognizing once again the influence of Tibetan lamas, Zhu Yuanzhang conferred on him a protection

[75] MSL 5: 2003.

[76] MSL 5: 2018.

[77] MSL 7: 3196.

edict by which his residence in the monastery was fully secured.[78] Unlike the Yuan authority which placed a *ti shri* in the capital as a hostage, Zhu

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[78] Sanla's name is given as Sanluo in Chinese and Bsam lo in Tibetan in the 1408 inscription of the Qutan Si 瞿曇寺 (> Tib. Khyu tam si) monastery, see Chen Qingying 陳慶英 and Ma Lin 馬林 eds., *Qinghai Zangchuan Fojiao siyuan beiwen jishi* 青海藏傳佛教寺院碑文集釋 (*Xibei shaoshu minzu wenzi wenxian* 西北少數民族文字文獻, Vol. 12, included in the 5th series of the *Zhongguo xibei wenxian congshu* 中國西北文獻叢書), Lanzhou: Lanzhou Guji Shudian, 1990, p. 3 (剌麻三羅) and p. 6 (*bla ma bsam lo*); cf. Sperling, "Notes on the Early History of Gro-tshang Rdo-rje-'chang and its relations with the Ming court", in *Lungta* 14 (2001), pp. 78-80. He is referred to as Bsam blo pa in CPH: 51 (*tā ming gi rgyal po 'ga' zhig gis mdo smad phyogs kyi dgon sde dang bla ma rnams la bdag rkyen rgya cher gnang/ rgyal po 'ga' zhig gis gro tshang bsam blo pa sogs la kau shrī'i tham kha gnang/*). Chen Qingying and Ma Lin mention in their notes that Bsam [gtan] blo [gros] was honored by Zhu Yuanzhang as *dishi* in 1389 (op. cit., p. 9). This is problematic.

Sperling quoted a "missive" from Zhu Yuanzhang to the fourth Karma pa Rol pa'i rdo rje which was also a protection edict (*huchi [chi]* 護持[敕]). The text is in Chinese which must be translated from Mongolian in view of the style of the language: "[... ...] Have him reside there (i.e., the Mtshur phu monastery) at his convenience. Peoples of all categories, do not disturb [him]. Inform the officials (Ch. *guanrenmei* = Mo. *noyad*, *mei* being the plural marker and does not mean "each" as Sperling has mistakenly translated) there [about this]. 教他穩便在那裏住坐，諸色人等休教騷擾。 說與那地面裏官人每知道者。" It is also frequently quoted by Chinese scholars, see, e.g., Chen Qingying, "Lun Mingchao dui Zangchuan Fojiao de guanli", in *Zhongguo Zangxue* 3 (2000): 58. See also the Karma pa's biography in DS: 45b: *byang phyogs nas byang phyogs kyis shin tu dben ba'i ri zhig gi drung du phebs/ de'i tshe ri 'di'i rtser dge slong gtsang ma zhig gi spur sbyangs na/ bod du rgya'i dmag mi 'ong ba 'dug ces pa'i gsung yang byon par grags/* "He then journeyed towards a solitary mountain situated in the far North. He is also known to have said at that time: 'Should the remains of a strict monk be cremated on the summit of this mountain, Chinese troops wouldn't invade Tibet.' " (Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1978, p. 506)

Yuanzhang's policy was granting protection to a Tibetan lama and installing him in the place where he was held by the locals as their spiritual leader.[79]

2.4 Recourse to Tibetan Buddhism

According to the memoir submitted by the Jinhua scholar Liu Chen 劉辰 in 1411 for the compilation of the *Taizu shilu* (*the Veritable Record of the Reign of Emperor Taizu*), Zhu Yuanzhang's proficiency in military astrology went back to Meng Yueting 孟月庭, the Lanxi 蘭溪 monk who was recommended to Zhu by Hu Dahai 胡大海 (d. 1362) and was later returned to secular life, in late 1358 when the Ming forces seized Wuzhou 婺州 (that is, Jinhua, Zhejiang) from the Yuan.[80] Around that time, Zhu displayed no favor to Tibetan religious practice as evidenced in an entry of the same memoir:

[79] In 1626, a civil officer mentioned in a memorial that the Yongle emperor had foreign chieftains pay tribute to the court so that they were successively placed in the reception hall, practically being held hostage by turns, see Shen Guoyuan 沈國元, *Liangchao congxin lu* 兩朝從信錄, *juan* 29, Taibei: Taiwan Wenhua Shuju, 1968, pp. 2718-19. This does not seem to apply to Tibetan cases.

[80] Liu Chen 劉辰, *Guochu shiji* 國初事蹟, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1991, p. 15.

> 太祖嘗使人察聽將官家。有女僧誘引華高、胡大海妻敬奉西僧，行金天教法。太祖怒，將二家婦人及僧投於水。[81]
>
> Once, the Taizu emperor had someone spy on the households of his generals and officers. There was a nun who had enticed the wives of [the generals] Hua Gao (d. 1371) and Hu Dahai into revering a Western monk (that is, Tibetan monk) and practising the Jintian ("Golden Sky") teaching. [When this was detected], Taizu was angry and had the two ladies as well as the monk thrown into the water.

It should not be forgotten, of course, that one of Zhu Yuanzhang's chief counselors, the Zhejiang scholar Liu Ji 劉基 (1311-1375), was an astrologer of great celebrity and could, throughout Chinese history, be matched only by his predecessor Shao Yong 邵雍 (1011-1077). By the time Liu passed away, Zhu was himself a proficient in astrology. On November 10, 1385, he even set up a stellar observatory (*guanxing tai* 觀星臺) under the Directorate of Astronomy (Qintian Jian 欽天監) in Jimingshan 雞鳴山.[82] In its vicinity, an observatory under the Islamic Directorate of Astronomy (Huihui Qintianjian 回回欽天監)

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[81] Liu Chen, op. cit., p. 27.

[82] Lit., "Cockcrow Mountain", located near the Nanjing palace.

was set up at the famous Buddhist site Yuhuatai 雨花臺 ("The Flower Showering Platform").[83] In January 1386, Zhu appointed the Tibetan monk Seng ge rgyal mtshan (Xingjijianzang 星吉監藏) You Jueyi 右覺義 ("Senior Expounder") and installed him in Jimingshan. Seng ge rgyal mtshan is mentioned only once in passing in the Ming *Veritable Records* in an entry for January 30, 1386.[84] His name was given in the mistaken form Xingjijianmao 惺吉堅茂 (*mao* 茂 being a scribal error for *zang* 藏) by Zha Yihuang 查伊璜 (Zha Jizuo 查繼佐, 1601-1676) who referred to Seng ge rgyal mtshan as a "Western monk" (*xiseng* 西僧). Zha Yihuang's record provides us with some additional information which is particularly interesting. According to Zha, despite the presence of the emperor in Confucian dress and that of the Confucian symbol of the National University (Guozijian 國子監) which was set up in Jimingshan on geomantic considerations, black ether (*heiqi* 黑氣) continued to haunt the area. The emperor had to invite Seng ge rgyal mtshan and some seven monks to the Jimingsi 雞鳴寺 ("Cockcrow Monastery") to build a *maṇḍala* (*jietan* 結壇) there. The apotropaic ritual resulted in a shower of flowers that took seven days and nights

[83] MSL 6: 2666.

[84] For the title Jueyi, cf. Song Ne, op. cit., pp. 417-419.

to cleanse the site completely.[85] The number "seven" that occurs twice in this account is of great astrological importance. Seng ge rgyal mtshan might have been a scholar accomplished in the *Dus 'khor* (*Kālacakra*) learning and was somehow engaged in the astrological activities in Jimingshan. The sixteenth-century Chinese writer Yao Fu 姚福 mentioned that he met an old Tibetan monk (*fanseng* 番僧) who stayed in seclusion regularly in a mosque (*huihuisi* 回回寺) south of Yuhuatai. This monk took jujube as his daily food and was able to communicate in Chinese.[86] The mosque apparently served the need of the Arab and Persian astronomers working there. Having Buddhism and Islam stay close to each other was not too unusual in Ming times if we consider the fact that Admiral Zheng He and Emperor Zhengde (Wuzong) practised Islam and Tibetan Buddhism at the same time.[87]

Hence we may conclude that, in the 1380s, the Taizu emperor installed a Tibetan monk near his palace in need of some sort of spiritual and astrological service, and, as shown in 2.3 above, in the 1390s, he installed another Tibetan

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[85] Zha Jizuo, *Zuiwei lu*, Hangzhou: Zhejiang Guji Chubanshe, 1986, pp. 2505, 2512. During Emperor Yongle's reign, Tibetan monks from the Cockcrow Monastery were sent on political missions to the Tibetan border regions (MSL 6: 2674). Whether this was already in practice in the Hongwu period is unclear.

[86] Yao Fu 姚福, *Qingxi xiabi* 清溪暇筆, in *Lidai xiaoshi* 歷代小史, 81: 6, Yangzhou: Jiangsu Guangling Guji Shuyinshe, 1989, p. 726.

[87] See 3.4 and 4.1 of this study.

monk in the border region on political considerations. It seems that he had to resort to Tibetan Buddhism in the end.

2.5 A Hiatus: 1398-1402

Zhu Yuanzhang was succeeded by his youthful grandson Zhu Yunwen 朱允炆 (Huidi 惠帝, r. 1398-1402), the hapless Jianwen emperor (Jianwenjun 建文君) who was bequeathed the throne that was fated to be usurped by his uncle Zhu Di after a three-year bloody civil war.

Tibetan scholars were not very familiar with this emperor. 'Gos lo tsā ba Gzhon nu dpal gave his title as *kyi hun* and had him reign for only two years.[88] The fifth Dalai Lama transcribed his title in a much precise way (*kyen bun*) but made him a son of Zhu Yuanzhang and the father of Zhu Di![89] We read in the *Blue Annals*:

> When the Emperor Ye dben (Yün-wên) had sent Tha'i skyam chen po as Imperial Envoy, and had invited Virūpa from Southern India, it was told, that [Mkha' spyod pa] went along as an

[88] DS, Vol. *Ka*, 27a: *kyi hun gyis lo gnyis*.

[89] BD: 194.

attendant of Virūpa, wearing a mantle, to the roof of the Imperial Palace of China.[90]

Since Mkha' spyod pa was a student of the sixth Karma pa Mthong ba don ldan (1416-1453), the Ming emperor could not be Zhu Yunwen who was already deposed in 1402. Ye dben must be a corrupted form of Ye dbang, that is, Yanwang (Zhu Di). This record has nothing to do with Zhu Yunwen and, as such, Roerich's identification must be corrected.[91]

Since the Yongle emperor had had the Jianwen reign effaced from the Ming official records, we can learn nothing about the relationships between Dbus-Gtsang and the Jianwen court from the Ming official sources. It is not impossible that, if there ever were edicts sent to Tibet from the Jianwen court, some primary materials may surface in Tibet in the future. As far as I am aware, there survives among the Ming sources a very brief entry for May 29, 1402 (the *gengchen* 庚辰 day of the fourth month in the fourth year of Jianwen) in which Tibet is mentioned:

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[90] G. Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1978, p. 512.

[91] In fact, the version reproduced by Lokesh Chandra reads *ye dbang* instead of *ye dben*, Vol. *Nya*, 48b: *gong ma ye dbang gis tha'i skyam* (< Ch. *taijian* 太監 "chief eunuch") *chen po gser yig tu mngags nas/ rgya gar lho phyogs nas bi rū pa spyan drangs pa'i skabs su/ rgya nag gi rgyal po'i pho brang gi thog tu bi rū pa'i phyags phyir thul pa cig gsol nas byon pa yin zhes ba'i gtam yang yod de/*

吐蕃寇保寧千戶所，陷之。[92]

Tibet (Tufan) invaded the Chiliad of Baoning (in Sichuan) and conquered it.

Tufan, in this context, most likely refers to the Tibetans on the Tibeto-Sichuan borders. The Tibetans apparently seized the opportunity of the Chinese civil war to conquer Baoning. When did the Ming retake Baoning is nowhere mentioned in MSL. This is understandable. Since the Tibetan conquest of Baoning was already removed from the official record, there is no need to mention the Ming recovering of the territory. This instance should illustrate how incomplete the records for the reign of Jianwen are, most likely as a result of political censorship.

Thus there is a four-year hiatus in our knowledge of Tibetan Buddhism in the early Ming. There was, however, an intriguing tailpiece to all this, as we shall see below.

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[92] Tu Shufang 屠叔方, *Jianwen chaoye huibian* 建文朝野彙編 (*Beijing Tushuguan guji zhenben congkan* 11), Beijing: Shumu Wenxian Chubanshe, 1988, p. 123a. Tu cited this entry from Huang Zuo's *Gechu yishi* 革除遺事. The very same entry is also included in Tan Qian, *Guoque*, Taibei: Dingwen Shuju, 1978, p. 833.

2.6 The Jianwen Mystery

What happened to Emperor Jianwen when Nanjing fell under the control of Zhu Di's rebelling troops in July 1402? The historical truth was blurred into a legend which had it that Jianwen escaped and became a Buddhist monk in Yunnan.

We read in the eighth chapter of the Ming story-collection *Xingshi yan* 型世言 that Jianwen was assisted and attended by a certain Cheng Junji 程君楫 to escape in the midst of the confusion when the imperial palace caught fire. Earlier, Cheng, having become well-versed in "star and halo observation" (*guanxing wangqi* 觀星望氣) thanks to a "Western monk" (*xiseng*, that is, Tibetan monk) who left a book to him before heading to Sichuan, was able to foresee Zhu Di's rebellion. Both Cheng and Jianwen became Buddhist monks and traveled for many years to hide from Zhu Di's tireless search[93] until they gave up the hope of returning to power and came to Yunnan and Guizhou.[94] When both of them had become very old, Jianwen, hoping to be buried with his family after his death,

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[93] Zhu Di sent several missions to search for the Taoist immortal Zhang Sanfeng and to foreign countries several times. It was rumored in Ming times that Zhu Di was, in fact, searching for his nephew.

[94] Shen Zengzhi 沈曾植 (1850-1922) recorded a specimen of the *Heart Sutra* that bears the regnal title of Jianwen which he judged, based on the quality of paper and ink, to be from Yunnan, see Shen's "Jianwenben *Xinjing* ba" 建文本心經跋, *Hairilou tiba* 海日樓題跋 (Qian Zhonglian ed., *Hairilou zhacong*, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1962), p. 24.

came to Beijing and disclosed his identity to the court. Then the Tibetan monk reappeared and led Cheng away.[95]

In his journey to Khams, Yao Ying 姚瑩 (1785-1853) was told by the Tibetans that the 'Phags pa lha ho thog thu of Chab mdo chos 'khor byams pa gling was the incarnation of Emperor Jianwen.[96] According to the Ming rumor, the old monk from Yunnan was recognized as Emperor Jianwen during the Zhengtong 正統 period (1436-1450). By considering that Chab mdo byams pa gling was established by Tsong kha pa's student Shes rab bzang po in 1437 and

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[95] *Xingshiyan*, Taibei: Zhongyanyuan wenzhesuo 中研院文哲所, 1992, Vol. 1, p. 399. Cheng Junji in this legend may be identified with Cheng Ji 程濟 who was from Shaanxi 陝西 and was reported to have studied magic. According to Yu Gun 郁袞, (*Gechao yizhong lu* 革朝遺忠錄, Taibei: Taiwan Xuesheng Shuju, 1969, p. 132), he was the one who made the forecast of war and, later, fought in the war for the emperor, and seems to have disappeared thereafter. For a brief discussion of the historical sources related to the mystery of Jianwen, see Meng Sen 孟森, "Jianwen xunguo shi kao 建文遜國事考", Meng Sen, *Ming-Qing shi lunzhu jikan* 明清史論著集刊, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1959, pp. 1-12.

[96] "According to what is transmitted among the Tibetans, the great Qutuγtu of Chab mdo was the incarnation of the Jianwen emperor of the Ming. This, though unfounded, is sufficient to show that the whole country pitied Jianwen at the time [he was deposed to the extent that even those in] the remote regions do not forget him after such a long time." 蕃人相傳察木多之大呼圖克圖爲明建文帝轉世，雖無稽，足見當時天下憐建文，異域亦久而不忘也 (Yao Ying, *Kangyou jixing* 康輶紀行, Taibei: Guangwen Shuju, 1969, 6: 11). During Yao Ying's time, the Qutuγtu of Chab mdo was the eighth 'Phags pa lha, Blo bzang 'jigs med dpal ldan bstan pa'i nyi ma (1795-1847).

that Rgyal ba 'Phags pa lha (the first 'Phags pa lha) was born several years later[97], we may assume that the rumors about Jianwen had been spread to Chab mdo, most likely from Yunnan.

It was also alleged that a stupa in Beijing on which was inscribed the title "Tianxia Dashi" (天下大師 "Grand Preceptor beneath Heaven") was the shrine of the Jianwen monk. However the Qing poet and historian Zhu Yizun 朱彝尊 (1629-1709), having done some fieldwork in Fangshan 房山, Beijing, wrote to the editors of the *Ming History* that what he saw there were merely stupas of Sikong 司空, Situ 司徒, Dishi and Guoshi which had nothing to do with the deposed emperor.[98]

The Jianwen event is to remain the biggest mystery in Ming political history. What require special attention and a satisfactory explanation are the Tibetan motifs that are so curiously interlaced within the Jianwen legend.

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[97] PPL: 2.

[98] *Shiguan shang zongcai disishu* 史館上總裁第四書, in *Pushuting ji* 曝書亭集 (*Sibu congkan* edition), 32: 6. These were receptacles of Tibetan monks from Yuan times. Note that the Mongol practice of granting Confucian titles such as Sikong and Situ to Buddhist clerics was inherited from the Liao Dynasty. The Liao also conferred the title Guoshi on foreign monks, e.g., the Indian master Cixian 慈賢 (Maitrībhadra?), who translated the *Dhāraṇī of Diamond the Pulverizer* (*Jingang cuisui tuoluoni* 金剛摧碎陀羅尼), was entitled Qidan Guoshi 契丹國師 "the Khitan State Preceptor" (T1416.21: 931b).

CHAPTER THREE

Ye Dbang

Though frequently portrayed as a stern Confucian monarch in the Ming official records, the third Ming emperor Zhu Di 朱棣 (Taizong 太宗, Chengzu 成祖, r. 1402-1424), the usurper and militarist who started the famous Yongle 永樂 ("Everlasting Happiness") era, was held virtually on a par with the Mongol emperor Qubilai Qaγan in Tibetan memories as the two greatest imperial patrons of Tibetan Buddhism. Thus we read in the *Deb ther sngon po*:

> *bye brag tu se chen gan dang ye dbang gnyis kyis rgya gar dang bod kyi rab tu byung ba rnams la gces spras su byas nas yo byad btang ba ni blor shong bar dka' bas/ rgyal po de dag gi dge ba'i rtsa ba la rjes su yi rang bar byas na rang dang gzhan gyi bsod nams byas pa mnyam pa nyid ces bya ba de 'byung ngo//* [1]
>
> In particular, both Sečen Qan and Ye dbang (Yanwang) esteemed Indian and Tibetan monks, and it is difficult to fathom the amount of resources [they] offered [to Buddhist monks]. Hence if one

[1] DS, Vol. *ka*, 27a; George N. Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1976 (Reprint of 1996), p. 60.

takes delight in the roots of virtue of these two emperors, one will bring forth the so-called equality of merits and acts of oneself and others.

Tibetan sources often refer to Zhu Di by the title Ye dbang or Ye dbang rgyal po (Tib. *rgyal po* "king, emperor"). Ye dbang (< Ch. Yanwang 燕王 "Prince of Yan") was his princely title before he assumed emperorship. Besides, he was known as Yung lo (< Ch. Yongle) rgyal po.[2] I know of one instance in Tibetan in which his posthumous title Taizong is mentioned.[3] Although Ming writers frequently referred to him by the titles Chengzu and Wenhuang 文皇, I have so far not encountered either of them in Tibetan historical writings.

3.1 Tibetans in Putuoshan

To give a more complete picture of Zhu Di's affiliation with Tibetan Buddhism, an understanding of the years before the 1399-1402 civil war is necessary. During these years, in his princedom at the former capital of the

[2] For example, Ngag dbang blo gros grags pa, *Dpal ldan jo nang pa'i chos 'byung rgyal ba'i chos tshul gsal byed zla ba'i sgron me*, ed. by Btsan lha Ngag dbang tshul khrims and She Wanzhi, Qinghai: Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig dpe skrun khang (Zhongguo Zangxue Chubanshe), 1992, p. 111: *gnam bskos gong ma tā ming rabs yung lo rgyal po* ("the divinely appointed emperor of the Great Ming lineage, the Yongle emperor").

[3] LR: 576: *rgya nag rgyal po tha'i dzung*. This, however, is a mistake for the emperor in question was actually Zhu Yuanzhang (see 3.6 below).

Mongol empire, Zhu Di gathered intelligence and rallied support for his usurpation. Two spiritual figures played a crucial role in emboldening the Prince of Yan to revolt against the Nanjing court. These were the Buddhist monk Daoyan 道衍 (Yao Guangxiao 姚廣孝, 1335-1418) and the prominent physiognomist Yuan Gong 袁珙 (d. 1410).[4]

Daoyan, the mentor assigned to Zhu Di by Zhu Yuanzhang through the recommendation of the Chan master Zongle, was trained in military astrology by the Taoist priest Xi Yingzhen 席應珍 prior to his ordination as a Buddhist monk. He was Zhu Di's chief advisor in the power struggles of the early 1400s. He was also responsible for recommending to the prince the Zhejiang physiognomist Yuan Gong who enjoyed a good reputation among Mongol nobles in the late Yuan period.[5] While no evidence shows that Daoyan was knowledgeable in Tibetan Buddhism, the biography of Yuan Gong includes an account of his spiritual practice which indicates possible Tibetan influences:

> 嘗游東海補怛洛伽山，僧有別古崖者，善相，見而奇之，
>
> 謂其眼光如電，法當以術顯。因給令仰視赤日，待兩目盡

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[4] MS: 4080; Lu Rong 陸容, *Shuyuan zaji* 菽園雜記, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1985, pp. 133-134.

[5] MS: 4080; Zha Jizuo 查繼佐, *Zuiwei lu* 罪惟錄, Hangzhou: Zhejiang Guji Chubanshe, 1986, pp. 2232, 2535.

眩，潛布黑赤豆於暗處俾辨之；又夜懸五綵絨線窗紙外，使映月光別其色。所試已皆中，然後悉以相家之術授焉，且曰："子後當出我右，慎勿妄泄也。"其法：俟夜將二鼓，或五鼓罷，燃兩炬，坐對占者，數以其炬左右視，形狀氣色既得，第參以所生年月，而吉凶之徵，有若節契然。[6]

[Yuan Gong] once traveled to Mt. Potalaka in the eastern seas. There a monk by the name Bieguya who excelled in physiognomy regarded Yuan highly and remarked that Yuan's eyes were like flashing lightning which showed that Yuan should distinguish himself as a physiognomist. So the monk tricked Yuan into gazing upon the reddish sun until both of Yuan's eyes became completely dazzled while he underhandedly arranged some black and red beans in a dark corner and then had Yuan distinguish them. At night, he suspended some five-colored silken threads outside the paper window and asked Yuan to distinguish their colors [from inside] by moonlight. After Yuan had passed the tests, the monk imparted to Yuan all his skills in physiognomy and said: "You should surpass me in the future. Be careful not to leak out [the secret] improperly." The method [of face reading]: When it is

[6] *Yuan Tingyu zhuan* 袁廷玉傳, in Dai Liang 戴良, *Jiuling Shanfang ji* 九靈山房集, Shanghai: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1935, 17: 260.

> about the time of the second night-watch or after the fifth night-watch, light two candles and sit face-to-face with the individual whose physiognomy is to be read. Observe repeatedly the individual from the left and the right by candlelight until his facial features and complexion[7] are fully grasped. Then, simply combine the reading with his date of birth, and the auguries always tally perfectly[8] [with actual consequences].

In the Taoist *neijing* 內景 ("inner scene") meditation, the practitioner visualizes his physical presence as the Kunlun mountain being enveloped by light rays of the sun hovering above the sea horizon in order to retrieve his life force.[9] The meditation is carried out indoors, involves no actual sun-gazing, and has nothing to do with clairvoyance. Yuan Gong's practice was different from this and seems to belong to the Bon po *Rdzogs chen* ("Great Consummation") practice.[10] In

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[7] *xingzhuang qise* corresponds to Tib. *dbyibs dang kha dog* "lineaments and complexion" in Bon po physiognomy.

[8] *youruo jieqi ran* is a Chinese idiom but, in the present context, might also correspond to Tib. *ga'u kha sbyor gyi tshul du*... ... .

[9] *Wushang santian yutang zhengzong gaoben neijing yushu* 無上三天玉堂正宗高奔 內景玉書, *Daozang* 道藏, 4: 122-125.

[10] The Bon po *Rdzogs chen yang rtse* practice involves predictions dependent on sunlight. For instance, *'Chi rtags gsal ba'i sgron ma*: "[... ...] Having kept one's eyes half-closed,

addition, the colorful threads remind us of the knot-sortilege (*ju thig*) of a Bon po *phyva gshen*.[11] What is most peculiar here is the monk's name which is undoubtedly foreign to the Chinese. Bieguya 別古崖 does not seem, however, to suggest a possible Tibetan name. If we are allowed to assume that the last character *ya* 崖 was a scribal corruption for *tai* 臺 (both look much alike orthographically), then there is little doubt that Biegutai was the Mongolian personal name Belgütei. The monk might have been either a Mongol who had become a Bon po or a Tibetan bearing a Mongolian name. But we also find that Zha Jizuo gave the name in a different form: Jibieya 吉別崖.[12] This, then, might

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raised the eyes and gazed at the sky, one will see the image of life. Should the image be without incomplete limbs and there be sparkling white color, one will know that the life of the individual [in question] will not be interrupted." (*mig zim byung ba dang/ nam mkha' la mig bteg ste bltas pas/ tshe'i gzugs brnyen mthong par 'gyur ro/ de'i gzugs brnyan la yan lag ma tshang ba med cing mdog skya lam me 'dug na/ skye bu'i tshe la bar chad med par shes par bya'o/*) (YRKC: 648-49); *Zhal shes gsung gi sgron ma*: "By spitting out water [while standing] at the corner of the sun's shadow during the midday, a glowing rainbow will come forth. If it has not appeared, [the individual in question] will die three months later. If it has appeared, he will not die." (*nyi ma phyed na nyi grib kyi mtshams su chu'i kha phru btab pas 'ja' tshon khyug ge 'ong/ de ma byung na zla ba gsum nas 'chi/ byung na mi 'chi'o/*) (YRKC: 526)

[11] Cf. David Snellgrove, *The Nine Ways of Bon*, London: Oxford University Press, 1967, pp. 24, 32.

[12] Zha Jizuo, *Zuiwei lu*, p. 2535. Yuan Gong's biography in the *Mingshi*, apparently based on that by Dai Liang, also reads Bieguya. Qian Qianyi's *Liechao Shiji xiaozhuan* (Shanghai: Gudian Wenxue Chubanhse, 1957) gives 別古厓 (p. 177) and 別古崖 (p. 678).

very well reflect Mo. *gilbaγ-a* "dazzling light".[13] By adopting Zha Jizuo's reading, we should very easily come to conclude that the name recorded by the biographer was actually the name of the sun-gazing practice known in Mongolian, the national language of China (*guoyu* 國語) under the Mongols.

It is said that Yanwang, caught in political dilemma, sent the Zhejiang physician Dai Yuanli 戴原禮 to acquire Yuan Gong's physiognomic writings. Yuan Gong's major œuvre, the *Renxiang Dacheng* 人象大成 (*Compendium of Physiognomy*), is not extant.[14] This work was probably a mélange of fourteenth-century Chinese and Tibetan physiognomy.

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[13] Ferdinand Lessing et al., *Mongolian-English Dictionary*, Berkeley / Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1960 (1995 reprint by the Mongolia Society), p. 382: *gilbaγ-a* "radiance, refulgence, sheen, reflection, glare; summer lightning", *gilbaγatai* "dazzling, blinding".

[14] Zha Jizuo, *Zuiwei lu*, pp. 2535-36. Yuan Gong's successor was his own son Yuan Zhongche 袁忠徹 (1376-1458) whose *Gujin shijian* 古今識鑒 (*Mirror of the Physiognomy of Ancient and Contemporary [Celebrities]*) and *Renxiang fu* 人象賦 (*Rhyme-prose on Physiognomy*) are now reproduced in the *Siku cunmu chongshu* 四庫存目叢書, Section *zi* 子, Vol. 67 (Jinan: Qilu Shushe, 1995), based on a 1527 xylograph. However, as expected, no mention of Yuan Gong's "secret" skill is found therein. What should be mentioned here is the curious anecdote about the Yongle emperor's interest and insight in *physiognomia* reported by none other than Yuan Zhongche, the distinguished physiognomist:

> 永樂十年五月十八日，我太宗文皇帝御武英門，命內官李謙王吉於古今通集庫取宋列帝遺像，命臣忠徹及畫工百戶徐英觀之。上笑謂忠徹曰: "宋太祖以下雖是胡羊鼻，其氣象清癯，若太醫然。" 十九日，上復御武英門，命臣忠徹同內官王吉看元列帝像，俱魁偉雄邁。上曰:

The question immediately arises: did Zhu Di's Tibetan title Ye dbang indicate any Bon po connection? Tib. *ye dbang* might simply be a *zur chag* or a

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"都喫綿羊肉者。" 及觀順帝像，顧謂臣忠徹曰: "唯此何爲類太醫也?"—from Yuan Zhongche, *Futai waiji* 符臺外集 (*Siming Congshu* 四明叢書 14), 2: 23a-b.

On June 26, 1412, the Taizong emperor was present at the Gate of Wuying. His Majesty ordered the eunuchs Li Qian and Wang Ji to take out the portraits of the Song emperors from the Gujin Tongji Ku (Repository for Collections from the Past to the Present) and asked me as well as the court painter and the company commander (*baihu*) Xu Ying to observe them. Smiling, His Majesty spoke to me: "The Taizu emperor (Zhao Kuangyin, r. 960-976) and the subsequent Song emperors, though all of them had a nose [like the snout] of the Mongolian sheep (*Huyang*, Tib. *sog lug*; *huyang bi* is a physiognomic term, see the illustration in *Yuan Liuzhuang xiansheng michuan shenxiang quanbian* 袁柳莊先生秘傳神相全編 [1927 edition based on a 1786 xylograph], 3: 18b), were of slender build, rendering them the air of a court physician." On June 27, present at the Gate of Wuying again, His Majesty asked me and the eunuch Wang Ji to observe the portraits of the Yuan emperors. [The Yuan emperors] were all tall and stout. His Majesty said: "These were all lamb eaters." When we came to contemplate the portrait of the Shundi emperor (Toγon Temür, r. 1333-1371), His Majesty looked at me and asked: "Why did this man alone look like a court physician?"

Whether what was being insinuated by the Ming emperor is truly that Toγon Temür was a posthumous son of the deposed Song emperor (see Wang Yao, "Nansong shaodi Zhao Xian yishi kaobian", in *Xizang wenshi kaoxin ji*, Gaoxiong: Foguang Chubanshe, 1992, pp. 104-106) does not matter very much in our present discussion. The value of this report lies in the fact that it shows how much Zhu Di was concerned with physiognomic matters.

distorted rendering of Ch. *yanwang*. It is true that Tibetan transcription of Chinese words tends to drop *-n* in the final position despite the fact that Tibetan has no difficulty to render the Chinese *yan* sound (Tib. *yan* means "above"). Nonetheless a phonetically distorted form that is semantically meaningful in Tibetan might have been deliberately chosen. One should also note that *ye dbang* is the sole instance of a Tibetan transcription of a Ming imperial title that is also meaningful in Tibetan. The term *ye dbang* is particularly meaningful in Bon po discourse, e.g., the Bon po sage Ye gshen dbang rdzogs, the Bon po deities Ye dbang lha, Ye dbang mthu[15] etc. This problem requires further investigation.

The Yuan writer Sheng Ximing 盛熙明 reported that he had listened to the *Itineray* (Ch. *xingcheng ji* = Tib. *lam yig*) *to Mt. Potalaka*[16] in Tibetan (獲聆番本補陀洛迦山行程記) when studying with a certain Maidarisiri (Maitriśrī) 密得哩室利 in Wutaishan. The itinerary also mentions "the country of Kālacakra"

[15] D. Snellgrove, *The Nine Ways of Bon*, pp. 24, 32, 58, 60, 62; cf. LR: 281: *bon por gtogs pa'i nye gnas rin chen dpal gyis 'dan klung thang du shug ra dgon dang/ de las mched pa tsha sgang bzung/* ***ye dbang*** *ni 'dan du dgon pa byas nas sgrub pa mdzad ces grags/* . Note also that a Bon po astrologer is called *ye mkhyen*, see Zhang Yisun et al., *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo* (*Zang-Han da cidian*), Chengdu: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang (Minzu Chubanshe), 1993, p. 2593.

[16] This *lam yig* does not seem to be the same as the *Po ta la'i lam yig* studied by G. Tucci, see his "À propos Avalokiteśvara", in *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques* 9 (1948-51), pp. 173-220.

(*Gelazanjialuo guo* 葛剌拶迦羅國).[17] However, it is nowhere hinted that the Tibetans of that time took Putuoshan to be the Mt. Potalaka mentioned in their sacred texts.[18] Notwithstanding this, an anonymous writer in the Wanli period wrote that the island was visited by "Indian monks" (*Tianzhu fanseng* 天竺梵僧)—which, given the historical background of that time, could only be Tibetans—much more frequently than by Chinese scholars.[19] The presence of Tibetan monks (*xiseng* 西僧) on the island is also confirmed by Lu Bao's 陸寶 *Itinerary*

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[17] *Butuoluojiashan zhuan* 補陀洛迦山傳, T 2101.51: 1138c. Yü Chün-fang misread Gelazanjialuo as "Ke-ts'u-to-chia-lo" and, as such, she failed to recognize the fact that this indeed is a transcription for *kālacakra*, see Yü Chün-fang, "P'u t'o Shan: Pilgrimage and the Creation of the Chinese Potalaka", in Susan Naquin and Chün-fang Yü eds., *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China*, Berkeley: University of California, 1992, p. 208.

[18] The Manchu emperor Kangxi wrote in 1704: 稽考梵書，補陀羅迦山有三，一居厄納忒黑，一居忒白忒，一居南海。"According to Buddhist texts, there are three mountains of Potalaka, one located in Enedkeg (India), one in Töböt (Tibet), and one in the southern sea (i.e., Putuoshan)."—see *Butuoluojiashan Puji chansi beiji* 補陀羅迦山普濟禪寺碑記, in *Putuoshan zhi* 普陀山志 (1832 ed.), Chapter *tian* 天章, p. 1a. It is stated in 'Phags pa's *Shes bya rab tu gsal ba* (*Jñeyaprakāṣa*) that the Potalaka mountain (Ri gru 'dzin) is located on an island in the southern sea (*lho phyogs rgya mtsho'i gling*), see *Sa skya bka' 'bum*, Tokyo: Toyo Bunko, 1968, Vol. 6, p. 6r. Shaluoba 沙羅巴 rendered *lho phyogs rgya mtsho'i gling na ri gru 'dzin zhes bya ba* by 南海之中山曰持船 (*Zhang suozhi lun* 彰所知論, T1645.32: 227b), leaving out the word "island" (*gling*).

[19] *Zuanxiu Butuoshan zhi xu* 纂修補陀山志序 (*Putuoshan zhi*, 15: 21b).

of Mt. Potalaka.[20] The late Ming Buddhist writer Xia Shufang 夏樹芳, styled Dakong Jushi 大空居士 ("Upāsaka of Great Emptiness"), made acquaintance of a certain Yon tan bkra shis 元怛吒釋 who traveled for six years to China in order

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[20] *You Butuo ji* 遊補陀記 (*Putuoshan zhi*, 15: 35b). It may not be amiss here to draw attention to the fact that a musical notation that resembles the Tibetan *dbyangs yig* ("symbols of vocalization") is found in the Ming Taoist canon (*Yuyin fashi* 玉音法事, *Daozang* 11: 120). This was already noted by Laurence Picken who opined that "[Lamaist notation] may have been brought to China with Mahāyāna Buddhism and borrowed by the Taoists in the elaboration of their ritual," see Egon Wellesz ed., *New Oxford History of Music*, Vol. 1: "Ancient and Oriental Music", 1957, p. 142. See also Walther Kaufmann, *Musical Notations of the Orient*, pp. 480-81, n. 29. There are two points worth noting in this connection:

(1) An eighteenth-century Manchu phonological manual states that the vocalic system was devised by Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (*Tongwen yuntong* 同文韻統, *juan* 1, p. 1, in 漢滿蒙藏四體合璧大藏全咒, Vol. 85, Harvard-Yenching Library Mo1803/6787). In view of the fact that no earlier Chinese writer held the same view, Shen Zengzhi opined that the Qing editors acquired this information from Tibetan scholars (Shen Zengzhi, *Hairilou zhacong*, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1962, p. 49).

(2) In the second half of the Ming period, the Putuo school of Buddhism was famous for having the practice of "vocalizing" (*changyun* 唱韻) as the "minor gate of enlightenment" (*xiao wumen* 小悟門), see Liu Xianting 劉獻廷, *Guangyang zaji* 廣陽雜記 (*Congshu jicheng chubian* edition), Shanghai: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1937, *juan* 2, p. 60. Since Putuo was Avalokiteśvara's abode, the view given in (1) probably originated from this place which was frequented by Tibetan monks in the Ming period.

The interaction between the Taoists and Buddhists in this respect is still far from clear. This is a subject which merits a special study.

to worship Avalokiteśvara on the sacred island.[21] "Indian" pilgrims usually collected alms for some time in the mainland to build golden statues or the like which were to be offered to Avalokiteśvara in Putuoshan. The treasures, unfortunately, made the island a target of pirate activities. The coastal areas of Zhejiang were harassed by Japanese (Wo 倭) pirates throughout Ming times. The Potalaka island suffered the greatest devastation during the Japanese pillage in 1553, following which some of her holy sites became desolate for more than ten years.[22] After the Wanli emperor had restored the major monasteries there in the 1580s, there was a resurgence of Tibetan pilgrimages to the island. It seems that most of these pilgrims remained in China. The confluence of Avalokiteśvara cult of both Chinese and Tibetan traditions must have taken place in China

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[21] 朝普門大士而入中華 (see *Xiseng Yuandanzhashi fang yankou zan youxu* 西僧元怛吒釋放餤口贊有敘, in Xia Shufang, *Binglianji* 冰蓮集, *Tianjin Tushuguan guben miji* 天津圖書館孤本秘籍 12, pp. 332-333). We also know of a certain Bsod nams bsam gtan 娑難散怛 from Dbus (Wu Wenqi, *Xu'an qianlu* 絮菴塹錄, *Tianjin Tushuguan guben miji* 天津圖書館孤本秘籍 11, p. 833) and Bsod nams rnam rgyal 鎖喃嚷結 (probably a Sarïγ Uyghur, see 4.3) whose purpose of traveling to China was to make a pilgrimage to Putuoshan and Wutaishan.

[22] 海氛內徙，鞠爲茂草者十餘年.—see Shi Zhaoji 釋照機, *Chongxiu zongpu xu* 重修宗譜序 (*Putuo Shan zhi*, 17: 5a). The Dutch (*Hongmao* 紅毛) pillage on June 25, 1665 caused another great damage to the monasteries on the island (*Putuo Shan zhi*, 13: 4a-5a). These two tragic events deprived us of valuable monastic records which might have provided us with clues to Tibetan activities in Putuoshan.

(Putuoshan?) by the Ming period.[23] What is remarkable is that, while *ri bo rtse lnga* (Mt. Wutai) and *glang chen 'gying ri* (Mt. Emei 峨嵋) were often mentioned by Tibetan writers, no mention of China's *ri bo po ta la* seems to have been noted in Tibetan writings. Perhaps, such references will be found in the future.

Hence our finding in this section: Tibetan cultural influences were already present in Putuoshan by the late Yuan period. It was on this famous abode of Avalokiteśvara that Yuan Gong acquired the skills that would impress the Prince of Yan and convinced him that he would become the emperor.

3.2 Zhu Di's Mongolian Style

In his headquarters in Beiping (the future Beijing), the Prince of Yan had in his command the Mongolian troops that had submitted to the Ming during the Hongwu period. Although there were also Mongolian troops placed under the direct command of the central authority, Emperor Jianwen had summoned several Mongolian commanders from Beiping to Nanjing before Zhu Di was ready to revolt in order to weaken the latter's military strength. Zhu Di, however, had won the allegiance of the Mongolian cavalry of the three Uriyangqad guards

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[23] Cf. the Ming stone painting of the White-robed Guanyin included in *Zhongguo lidai Guanyin wenxian jicheng* 中國歷代觀音文獻集成, Beijing: Zhonghua Quanguo Tushuguan Wenxian Suowei Fuzhi Zhongxin, 1998, Vol. 6, p. 153. On the upper part of the painting one finds tantric formulae which, though identified as *fanshu* 梵書 (Sanskrit letters), are entirely in Tibetan.

(Wuliangha sanwei 兀良哈三衛)[23], the crucial factor for his victory in the civil war. In addition, as the Yan rebelling army marched southwards, the Mongols who fought for Emperor Jianwen, having been defeated, were incorporated into the Yan forces. High commanders such as Qorγui 火兒灰 and Γasan Temür 哈三帖木兒 joined the Yan army in such a process.[24] It was reported that a Mongol commander by the name Sengge 省吉 was rebuked for killing some 300 Mongolian soldiers after they had surrendered and were disarmed.[25] According to the *Mingshi*, Zhu Gaoxu 朱高煦 (Zhu Di's second son), armed with Mongolian forces, came more than once to rescue Zhu Di in the nick of time during the war.[26] There was even a famous painting depicting Zhu Di on horseback together with his military commanders on the battlefield. According to the artist Xu Wei 徐渭 (1521-1593), the commanders were Chouchou 丑丑, Yashi Temu'er 亞失

[23] Cf. Wang Chongwu 王崇武, *Ming jingnan shishi kaozheng gao* 明靖難史事考證稿, Hong Kong: Longmen Shudian, 1969, pp. 61, 67. The three Uriyangqad guards were Duoyan 朵顏, Taining 泰寧 and Fuyu 福餘. Zhu Di had to cede the territory of Daning 大寧 to repay the Uriyangqad Mongols in March 1403 (MS: 79, 2236). Daning was originally the fief of Zhu Quan 朱權 (Prince of Ning 寧王, Zhu Yuanzhang'seventeenth son, 1378-1448). By devoting the rest of his life to music and dramaturgy, Zhu Quan was allowed to live for some 45 years more (MS: 3592).

[24] MSL 9: 112.

[25] MSL 9: 64.

[26] MS: 3616.

帖木兒, Tong Xin 童信, Mao'er 貓兒, Mazi Tiemu'er 麻子帖木兒, Yilailengman 亦賴冷蠻, Tuoxuechi 脫穴赤 and Ji'er 雞兒. It is obvious that most of them were Mongols.[27] Zhu Di's Mongol militia served him faithfully even in Sino-Mongolian wars. Since Zhu Di was so close to the Mongols, one wonders if he could avoid following some Mongolian customs. The miscellaneous records of the scholar-official Lu Rong 陸容 (1436-1494) provides us with some interesting information in this respect:

> 予奉命犒師寧夏，內府乙字庫關領軍士冬衣，見內官手持數珠一串，色類象骨，而紅潤過之。問其所製，云：太宗皇帝白溝河大戰，陣亡軍士積骸遍野。上念之，命收其頭骨，規成數珠，分賜內官念佛，冀其輪回。又有腦骨深大者，則以盛淨水供佛，名天靈碗。皆胡僧之教也。[28]

> I was charged with conveying bounties to the armies in Ningxia. While I was at Storage B of the Inner Treasury to pick up winter

[27] Xu Wei, *Qingteng Shuwu wenji* 青藤書屋文集, Shanghai: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1935, 30: 22a.

[28] Lu Rong, *Shuyuan zaji*, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1985, p. 3. Lu Rong was in Ningxia in the year of *bingxu* 丙戌, i.e., 1466 (see Lu Rong, p. 6). The term *huseng* ("foreign monks"), in the present context, refers to Tibetan monks, cf. Lu Rong, p. 42.

> clothes for the soldiers, I saw the eunuch holding in his hand a rosary (Ch. *shuzhu* "counting beads" = Tib. *ma ni bgrang ba*) which resembled elephant bone in color but its glossy reddish aspect surpassed that of the latter. I asked from what it was made and [the eunuch] told me [the following]. After the Baigouhe combat (in 1400), the battlefield was filled with the corpses of casualties. The Taizong emperor (i. e., Zhu Di) grieved over the death and ordered that the skulls be collected and ground into beads which were distributed to the eunuchs for counting prayers, in the hope that [the deceased soldiers] would gain rebirth. Besides, skulls of larger volume were used to contain clean water offered to the Buddha and they are called cephalic bowls (Skr. *kapāla*). All this being the teachings of Tibetan monks.

We should remember that the most humiliating memory for the Chinese under the Mongolian rule was that the tomb of the Song emperor Lizong 理宗 was excavated, his head severed, made into a skull cup and kept in Beijing by Tibetan monks. It is therefore not insignificant that one year after his ascending the throne, Zhu Yuanzhang decreed that the cranium of the Song emperor be obtained from the Tibetan monk Gzhon nu rgyal mtshan 西僧汝納監藏 and

interred in Zhejiang.[29] While Zhu Di had admitted a larger number of non-Hans to serve as eunuchs and in the imperial bodyguard, his "barbarian" practice was still something that he probably preferred not to be exposed to his Confucian officers of the outer court. On the other hand, Zhu Di had reminded his officers that "Chinese and non-Chinese originally belonged to one family 華夷本一家" and that the downfall of the Mongol Yuan empire was partly due to the practice of ethnic discrimination. He did not forget to quote the time-honored maxim in Confucian historiography, "once the barbarians are included in China, they should be regarded as Chinese 夷而入於中國則中國之".[30]

We know that there is a gap for the Jianwen reign in the *Ming shilu* (*Ming Veritable Records*). The *Jianwen shilu* had been replaced by the *Fengtian jingnan shiji* 奉天靖難事蹟 or *The Record of Pacifying [Internal] Unrest* (*jing [nei]nan* 靖 [內] 難) *by Heaven's Mandate* for the purpose of whitewashing the Prince of Yan's rebellion and smearing Emperor Jianwen's name. Jianwen is portrayed therein as being extremely good-for-nothing, in sharp contrast to Zhu Di's perfect personality. Jianwen was even made a ruler who trusted eunuchs and revered Buddhism:

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[29] Song Lian, *Shu Muling yige* 書穆陵遺骼, *Luanpo qianji* 鑾坡前集, 3: 3a-3b, in *Song Wenxiangong quanji* 宋文憲公全集, Shanghai: Zhonghua Shuju, 1930s.

[30] MSL 12: 1641-42, MSL 14: 2407.

> 宮中起大覺殿，於內置輪藏，而敬禮桑門，出公主與尼爲徒。[31]
>
> He built in the palace the Hall of Great Enlightenment wherein scripture wheels (*lunzang*) were installed. He honored Buddhist clerics and sent out princesses to serve Buddhist nuns as their disciples.

What is interesting is that the "evil ministers" accused of misleading Jianwen to ill-treat Zhu Di were respectable Confucian scholar-officials such as Fang Xiaoru 方孝孺 (1357-1402) etc. against whom Zhu Di waged a vendetta after capturing Nanjing. What is more interesting is that it was Zhu Di himself who trusted eunuchs, invited Tibetan monks to the palace and had Tibetan Kanjur printed for the very first time. In the *Fengtian jingnan shiji*, it is recorded that the "evil ministers" levelled false charges against Zhu Di. For example, Zhu Di was accused of having recruited magicians (including astrologers, physiognomists etc.) and Mongol warriors for unlawful purposes.[32] These charges were undeniably true!

Zhu Di, having become the emperor, even had towers erected at major crossroads in the capital city. On each tower, there were Buddhist monks reciting

[31] MSL 9: 4.

[32] MSL 9: 47.

scriptures in the evening so that the dharma sound could be widely heard by the city's populace. According to a Ming writer, one of these "towers of scripture listening" (*tingjing lou* 聽經樓) at Beimen Qiao 北門橋 close to Shi Miao 十廟 still survived a century after the shift of capital to Beijing and was somewhat renovated in the early Jiajing period (1520s).[33] Zhu Di probably borrowed the idea from the Islamic minarets.

Meanwhile Zhu Di's wife, Empress Renxiao 仁孝 (General Xu Da's eldest daughter), produced a scripture which she claimed to have received—at the time when her husband was still a prince in Beijing—in a dream from the Baiyi Dashi 白衣大士 (Avalokiteśvara in white robe) who prophesied that she would become the empress.[34] She also produced other religious and ethical writings which were so well-known that Japan sent diplomat-monks to acquire them.[35] Some scholars

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[33] Dong Gu 董穀, *Bili zacun* 碧里雜存 (*Baoyan Tang miji huiji* 寶顏堂秘笈彙集 7), Shanghai: Wenming Shuju, 1922, p. 5a. This reminds us of the famous Yongle Bell in the Big Bell Temple (Dazhongsi 大鐘寺) in Beijing. More than a hundred esoteric formulas (in Lantsha script) were inscribed on the bell. The sound of the bell was apparently intended to be the *fanyin* 梵音 "the sacred sound" (lit., "the Brahma sound, the Sanskrit sound").

[34] Dong Gu, *Bili zacun*, pp. 5a-5b gives the title of the scripture as *Guanyin menggan jing* 觀音夢感經. According to the catalogue of the Yongle encyclopaedia, the title reads *Daming Renxiao Huanghou menggan Fo shuo diyi xiyou dagongde jing* 大明仁孝皇后夢感佛說第一希有大功德經, see *Yongle Dadian shumu kao* 永樂大典書目考, p. 2760. The scripture is included in *Zoku zōkyō*, No. 10682.

[35] MSL 11: 1063.

have opined that the scripture was fabricated simply for legitimizing the usurpation of Zhu Di whom they consider as having no personal faith in Buddhism.[36] However such a fabrication could only be something meaningful on at least one of the following conditions: (1) The majority of Confucian officers worshipped Avalokiteśvara; (2) Members of the royal family in general worshipped Avalokiteśvara; (3) Zhu Di in particular worshipped Avalokiteśvara. Since (1) could hardly be true[37], at least one of the other two must be true.

3.3 The Fifth Karma pa Comes to China to Perform Rituals

During his residence in the former Yuan imperial city, Zhu Di already heard of the fifth Karma pa Chos dpal bzang po (1384-1415) and admired his

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[36] See, for example, Cao Shibang 曹仕邦, "Ming Chengzu dui Fojiao de zhengzhi liyong 明成祖對佛教的政治利用", in *Guoji Foxue yanjiu* 國際佛學研究 1 (1991): 281-290.

[37] We have seen in 1.2.6 how a Confucian officer made fun of the hexasyllabic mantra of Avalokiteśvara. Zhu Di's minister Xia Yuanji 夏原吉 even displayed open disapproval of the emperor's invitation of the Karma pa, see MS: 4152, GQ: 983.

In June 1407, a Buddhist monk proposed to build a Guanyin temple (*Guanyin ge* 觀音閣) to pray for the emperor's longevity. Although this was rejected by the emperor (MSL 11: 935), the action of the monk can only be understood by assuming that he was well aware of the emperor's belief in Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara.

extraordinary spiritual deeds.[38] Barely two months after entering the new Yongle era, Zhu Di dispatched the eunuch Hou Xian 侯顯 to summon (*zheng* 徵) the Karma pa (Shangshi Halima 尙師哈立麻 < Tib. Bla ma Karma [pa]) to the Nanjing court. The Karma pa only arrived in 1407 (that is, approximately four years later) when Zhu Di was campaigning against Annam (Vietnam). One result of his arrival was the sounding of Avalokiteśvara's hexasyllabic formula (Tib. *yig drug*), *oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ*, throughout the court which some of the emperor's Confucian functionaries found disagreeable. Zhu Di had the Karma pa perform a ritual to bless the souls of the late Emperor Taizu and Empress Ma. The ritual was performed in March 1407 at the Linggusi 靈谷寺 [39], a monastery built in the vicinity of the palace by Emperor Taizu's order.[40] A series of auspicious signs, such as the exhibiting of iridescence, the images of stupas and of the Buddha and Avalokiteśvara etc., were reportedly observed around that time. They were recorded in prose written by the emperor[41] and in a huge painted

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[38] MSL 9: 310: 上在藩邸時，素聞其道行卓異. See also his invitation letter to Chos dpal bzang po: *nged sngar byang phyogs su yod pa'i dus su/ khyed kyi mtshan bzang po thos nas lan gcig mjal bsam pa'i sems bzhin [... ...]//* (MPDS: 1001)

[39] On June 21, 1407, when the emperor was in the Linggu monastery, he ordered that even a single insect should not be hurt (MSL 11: 938).

[40] Zhu Yuanzhang, *Linggusi ji* 靈谷寺記 (QMW: 186-187).

[41] See Otosaka 1997; cf. Zha Jizuo, *Zuiwei lu*, pp. 2505-6, Liang Qian, *Zhengyue liuri guan Linggu Si taying fenghe* 正月六日觀靈谷寺塔影奉和 (Liang Qian, *Bo'an Xiansheng wenji*,

scroll with descriptions in five scripts (Chinese, Arabic, Bayi, Tibetan, Mongolian).[42] The Renxiao empress, Zhu Di's wife who was blessed by Avalokiteśvara, departed shortly thereafter. The Karma pa was ordered to perform a ritual for her in Mt. Wutai in August 1407.[43] The handsome reward given to the young Karma pa included 100 taels of gold, 1000 taels of silver etc. His disciples were granted the title of guoshi.[44]

Beijing Tushuguan guji zhenben congkan 100, Beijing: Shumu Wenxian Chubanshe, 1988, pp. 321-22). The miraculous signs are also recorded in Tibetan sources, see George N. Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1976 (Reprint of 1996), p. 508.

[42] The Tibetan text is given and discussed in H. Richardson, "The Karma-pa sect. A Historical Note", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 3-4 (1958), pp. 139-164; 1-2 (1959), pp. 1-18, and in Luo Wenhua, "Ming Dabao Fawang jian pudu dazhai changjuan", *Zhongguo zangxue* 1 (1995), pp. 89-97. For the scroll's details, see the nice reproduction of the scroll in Jiayang 甲央 and Wang Mingyu 王明昱 eds., *Baozang: Zhongguo Xizang lishi wenwu* 寶藏: 中國西藏歷史文物, Shenzhen: Zhaohua Chubanshe, 2000, Vol. 3, pp. 95-137.

[43] MSL 11: 910.

[44] MSL 11: 910, 916. The disciples' names are given in Chinese transcription as Bolongbuwa Sang'erjialingzhen 孛隆逋瓦桑兒加領真 ('Brong bu ba Sangs rgyas rin chen), Gaoriba Lingchanbo 高日瓦領禪伯 (Bka' bzhi ba Rin chen dpal), and Guoluan Luogeluojianzangbalizangbu 果欒囉葛羅監藏巴里藏卜 (Mgo blon Blo gros rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po). These seem to be Gu shrī Sangs rgyas rin chen, Gu shrī Rin chen dpal, Gu shrī Blo gros rgyal mtshan given in the *Deb ther sngon po* (Roerich, op. cit., p. 509). In MPDS: 1006, they are given as 'Brong bu go'i shi ba, Slob dpon Dkar bzhi ba and Mkhan chen Mgon blon pa, cf. Deng Ruiling 鄧銳齡, "Xianzhe xiyan Ming Yongle shi Shangshi Halima jinjing jishi jianzheng", in *Zhongguo zangxue* 3 (1992): 84-96. We find in the *Deb*

Scholars have generally noted that the four Chinese characters Dabao Fawang 大寶法王 "Dharma King of the Great Jewel" in the lengthy title granted to the Karma pa already occurs in the equally convoluted title that the Sa skya pa hierarch 'Phags pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan (1235-1280) received from Qubilai Qaγan more than a century earlier and thus reasoned that Zhu Di had the thought of promoting the status of the Karma pa sect to what is somewhat comparable to that of the Sa skya pa in the early Yuan. In fact Zhu Di was following what the last Yuan emperor Toγon Temür had done in Beijing. Writing in 1361, Sheng Ximing[45] informed us about the very fact that the *shengshi* (Tib. *bla ma dam pa* "holy master") Dabao (Tib. *rin po che*) Gelumawa (Tib. Karma ba = Karma pa) 聖師大寶葛嚕麻瓦, that is, the third Karma pa Rang byung rdo rje (1284-1339), performed religious services for Toγon Temür at the outset of his reign[46] by "manifesting the supernatural power of the hexasyllabic formula of Avalokiteśvara"[47], of whom, as perceived by Sheng Ximing, the Karma pa was

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sngon that one of the Karma pa's disciples was Bka' bzhi pa Rin chen bzang po while a certain Bka' bzhi pa Rin chen dpal was one of his teachers.

According to Tibetan sources, the Karma pa also presented articles discovered by the *gter ston* Sangs rgyas gling pa (1340-1396) including a manuscript of the *Bla ma dgongs 'dus* to the emperor, see "Introduction", BM, Vol. II.

[45] 至正辛丑歲四月望 (May 19, 1361), T2101.51: 1139a.

[46] 今上即位之初 (T2101.51: 1136a).

[47] 宣六字之神力 (T2101.51: 1136a).

an incarnate.[48] The title Dabao for the Karma pa and the pronouncement of Avalokiteśvara's mantra at the beginning of the Mongol emperor's reign merit special attention. It allows us to recognize that Zhu Di was, again, following the Mongolian practice, particularly that of Toγon Temür (r. 1333-1368). *Dabao fawang* was the Chinese rendering for Tib. *chos rje rin po che* (though some had retranslated the Chinese title into *rin chen chos rje* or *rin chen chos rgyal*) and was, essentially, not a new title for the Karma pa. The special title Zhu Di conferred on Chos dpal bzang po was Rulai (Skr. Tathāgata, Tib. De bzhin gshegs pa). In Chinese, Chos dpal bzang po was known by the title Rulai Dabao Fawang 如來大寶法王.[49] In Tibetan, he was known thenceforth as De bzhin gshegs pa. Sheng Ximing's record is attested to in the *Deb ther dmar po*:

> *[... ...] bya lo zla ba dang po'i nya la rgyal po chen po tho gan thi mur sman tse'i yul nas ta'i tur gdan phebs pa bsu ba la skye 'gro bye ba phrag du ma tshogs pa'i nang du/ khrom la sus kyang lam mi phyed pa la/ chos rje zhva nag gsol ma ṇi pad dbyangs mdzad kyin byon pa'i khrom thams cad kyi go skabs phye/ sbrel dkar chen po'i mdun du rgyal po nyid byon nas bsu zhing zhabs la btugs/ mos gus dang dbul ba bsam gyis mi khyab/ [... ...] zla ba*

[48] 將非大士之應化者乎 (T2101.51: 1136a).

[49] As inscribed on the seal conferred on him, see the photograph in SD: 31.

drag pa la shang dor rgyal po rgyal sar bzhugs dus su chos skyong rnams kyis bar chad bsrung zhing byin gyis brlabs pa'i ltas shar/ 'gro don bsam gyis mi khyab pa mdzad/ skabs der spyan ras gzigs kyis lung bstan zhing rgyal po'i tshe chu 'don du 'byon par zhus nas/ khyi lo zla ba lnga pa'i nya la btegs/ chos thams cad kyi stong pa nyid rtogs pa'i karma pa zhes pa'i mtshan gyi 'ja' sa gu shrī dam kha shel gyi sbel kha/ gser yig sgor mo phul/ bod rtsa ri gsar rnying du gser bre'i gnang sbyin dang/ nyid kyi zhal slob mdo khams kyi bla ma ting 'dzin bzang po dang/ mtshal dge sbyong chen po la si tu'i tham kha sogs skyes ma'i gnang sbyin phul [... ...] [50]

[... ...] on the fifteenth day of the first month of the bird year (1333), when no one whosoever could open up a way amid the throng of tens of milions of people[51] greeting the great emperor Toγon Temür who arrived in Dadu 大都 [52] from Guangxi 廣西 [53],

[50] DD: 102-103.

[51] *skye 'gro*, KK: 311 reads *skye bo*.

[52] For *ta'i tur* "in Dadu", KK: 311 reads *ta'i tu'i pho brang chen por* "at the great palace of Dadu". Dadu was the Yuan capital in Beijing.

the Dharma Lord (Chos rje, i. e., Rang byung rdo rje)[54], black-capped and chanting the mantra [*oṃ*] *maṇi pad* [*me hūṃ*], came and the whole throng gave way [to him spontaneously].[55] The emperor[56], having come to the front of the large [tent of] white ape [fur/skin?][57], greeted him and prostrated at his feet.[58] The

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[53] Tib. *sman tse'i yul* "the region of Sman tse (< Ch. Manzi 蠻子 "Southern Chinese")"—here refers to Guangxi. Being part of the power struggles between the two lineages of Qosila (Emperor Mingzong 明宗) and Tuγ Temür (Emperor Wenzong 文宗), it was rumored that the little Toγon Temür was in fact not fathered by Qosila which resulted in his being put into exile first in Korea and then in Jingjiang 靜江, Guangxi, see YS: 815. The 13-year-old prince returned to Beijing after the death of Tuγ Temür.

[54] KK: 311 reads *chos rje thugs rje'i bdag nyid de nyid.*

[55] KK: 311 reads: *[...] ma ṇi'i dbyangs mdzad gyin byon pas/ khrom thams cad kyis go skabs phye/*

[56] *rgyal po nyid*, KK: 311 reads *mi'i dbang po rgyal po chen po nyid.*

[57] For *sbrel dkar chen po'i mdun du*, KK: 311 reads *sprel dkar gzim gur chen mo'i mdun du* which is being followed in this translation. Chen Qingying and Zhou Runnian's Chinese translation has "The Huizong emperor (i. e., Toγon Temür) carried a big *kha btags* (i. e., a scarf of salutation) and came to the fore 元惠宗手拿大哈達前來" (Chen Qingying, Zhou Runnian, *Hongshi* 紅史, Lhasa: Xizang Renmin Chubanshe, 1988, p. 89) which means they read *sbrel dkar* as *dar dkar* "white silken scarf". But in Chen Qingying, "Gamaba Rangjiongduoji liangci jin jing shilue", *Zhongguo zangxue* 3 (1988), p. 96, it is rendered by "in front of a great Mongolian yurt" (在大蒙古包前).

[immensity of] devotion and oblation[59] was inconceivable. [... ...] In the sixth month[60], at the time when the emperor was installed in Shangdu 上都, there appeared signs which indicated that [the emperor was being] protected against obstacles and blessed by guardians of the Dharma. [Actions that caused] inconceivably great benefit for beings were performed.[61] On that occasion, as the water of vitality for the emperor, prophesied by Avalokiteśvara[62], was to spring forth, [the emperor] bid him to come. He set out on the fifteenth day of the fifth month of the dog year (1334). An edict was conferred on him that entitled him "The Karma pa who intuits the emptiness of all phenomena", a seal for *guoshi*, a crystal box and a round plate with golden script. In Old and New

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[58] *bsu zhing zhabs la btugs*, KK: 311 reads *chos rje pa nyid bsu zhing gus pa chen pos zhabs la gtugs*.

[59] *dbul ba*, KK: 311 reads *'bul ba*.

[60] *zla ba drag pa*, KK: 311-12 reads *zla ba drug pa'i tshes brgyad*.

[61] KK: 312 reads: *pho brang shong tor rgyal po chen po'i go sar dbang bskur te shis brjod mdzad/ de dus 'jig rten skyong ba mang po 'dus nas dgyes pa'i rnam 'gyur mdzad pa gzigs pas/ rgyal khams bde ba'i ltas su mkyen te/ chos rje nyid bzhugs ring rgyal khams bde ba'i khag khur mdzad/*

[62] According to KK: 312, the prophecy was made in a dream (*mnal lam*).

> Rtsa[63] ri, Tibet, he received the present of gold [from the emperor]. His disciples Ting 'dzin bzang po, the lama of Mdo khams, and Dge sbyong chen po of Mtshal were given presents including seals for *situ* 司徒 etc. [... ...].

The auspicious signs were significant for Toγon Temür and Zhu Di, both were confirmed thereby as emperors whose rulership were protected by Avalokiteśvara. We should also note that Toγon Temür's place in the Yuan imperial lineage was obscured by rumors that aimed to ruin him.[64] Powerful Mongol ministers had his 6-year-old brother Irinǰibal (Rin chen dpal) seated on the throne only to make the boy die about a month later, and there was a plan to enthrone El Tegüs (son of Tuγ Temür, Toγon Temür's uncle). When Toγon Temür was enthroned, it was necessary to have him protected by an influential spiritual figure like Rang byung rdo rje. It turned out that Toγon Temür was the longest lived of the Mongol emperors in China. A Tibetan historian wrote:

> *sngon se chen rgyal po ma gtogs phyis kyi rgyal po gang yang rgyal sar lo bcu gcig yan chad bzhugs pa su yang med pa la/ rgyal po chen po 'di rgyal sar chu mo bya lo byon nas sa mo phag gi lor*

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[63] KK: 312 reads Tsa.

[64] YS: 815.

rgyal sa lo nyi shu rtsa bdun lon zhing da dung yang sku tshe brtan pa'i rgyal khams yang bde ba la bkod pa de/ chos rje rin po che'i bka' drin yin no/ shong dor bar chad kyi ltas chen po gcig byung ba spyan ras gzigs la gsol ba btabs pas/ gong ma dang chos mdzad rnams la gnod pas mi tshugs pa'i ltas byung//[65]

Except the early Sečen rgyal po (Qubilai), none of the subsequent emperors resided on the throne for more than ten years, and this great emperor (Toγon Temür) had been on the throne for twenty-seven years—from the water-female-bird year (1333) to the earth-male-hog year (1359)—and even now he was in good health and the empire too was placed in happiness. This is due to the kindness of Chos rje rin po che (Rang byung rdo rje). [When] there appeared a great omen of impediments in Shangdu[66], thanks to [Rang byung rdo rje who] made prayers to Avalokiteśvara, there appeared the omen that the emperor and those who practised Buddhism would not be harmed.

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[65] DD: 103-104.

[66] Here we have Shong do instead of Shang do (or Shang mdo), suggesting an influence of Southern Chinese dialects.

Zhu Di had displaced his nephew. Obtaining the same auspicious signs implied that Zhu Di's emperorship was predestined and could not be challenged. In fact, we read in the *Fengtian jingnan shiji* that Zhu Yuanzhang's favorable candidate for the imperial throne was his fourth son Zhu Di who was ill-treated by Jianwen's clique and was even forbidden to visit him on his deathbed. No one, however, was able to prevent Zhu Di from being pushed to the throne at last.[67] Obviously, this narrative was devised in order to annul the Jianwen emperor and to make Zhu Di the only legitimate heir of Zhu Yuanzhang. In this manner, Zhu Di was made first a victim and then a blessed ruler, much like Toγon Temür.[68] By comparing this account and that of the auspicious signs, we should be able to understand Zhu Di's motive better. The ritual was both religious and political. This suggests that Zhu Di received considerable Mongolian influences in his princedom in Beijing.

3.4 Zheng He

In the meantime, Zhu Di continued Zhu Yuanzhang's effort searching for the sacred land of Buddhism. The Chinese monk Zhiguang was sent to Nepal via

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[67] MSL 9: 2-5.

[68] Zhu Di was made a son of Toγon Temür in Mongolian legends, just like Toγon Temür was made a son of the Song emperor Zhao Xian in Chinese legends, cf. Chan Hok-lam, "A Mongolian Legend of the Building of Peking", *Asia Major* 3.2 (1990), pp. 63-93.

Tibet in September 1402[69] which, as one might expect, could hardly yield more results than what had been achieved in the Hongwu period. Zhu Di went further to send missions to India by sea route. The eunuch Zheng He 鄭和 (1371-1435) who gained merits in the civil war[70] was entrusted with this task. The eunuch admiral was to lead seven maritime expeditions via the South China Seas and the Indian Ocean in 1405-1433. According to the *Mingshi*, the chief mission of Zheng He was to search for the Jianwen emperor.[71] Nevertheless the religious aspect of the voyages deserves our attention. On his 1405 voyage, Zheng He was

[69] MSL 9: 177. For Zhiguang, see Deng Ruiling, "Ming Xitian Fozi Daguoshi Zhiguang shiji kao", *Zhongguo zangxue* 3 (1994), pp. 34-43.

[70] Zheng He came from the Ma 馬 clan in Yunnan. He was by no means the only eunuch who gained military merits during the civil war. The exact number of such eunuchs serving Yanwang is not known. Tu Shufang, quoting Huang Zuo's *Gechu yishi* 革除遺事 (of which only a much abridged version is available to us), enumerates some of them: (1) Gou'er 狗兒, presumably a Mongol; (2) the Jurchen (Nüzhiren 女直人) Wang An 王安 alias Buhuadu 不花都, cf. Manchu *buhatu* "yak", see Hu Zengyi et al. *Man-Han da cidian*, Urumci: Xinjiang Renmin Chubanshe, 1994, p. 111; (3) the Tibetan (Xifanren 西番人) Meng Ji 孟驥 alias Tian'erlang 添兒郎; (4) Zheng He alias Sanbao 三保 and Li Qian 李謙 alias Bao'er 保兒, both were from Yunnan, probably both were Muslim *kwája* (eunuch); (5) Yunxiang 雲翔 alias Mengkejiu 猛可舊 (Mo. *mungqaγ* "stupid"?) and Jiahe 嘉禾 alias Qar-a Temür 哈剌帖木, both were Mongolian (Hu 胡, cf. Tib. Hor), see Tu Shufang 屠叔方, *Jianwen chaoye huibian* 建文朝野彙編 (*Beijing Tushuguan guji zhenben congkan* 11), Beijing: Shumu Wenxian Chubanshe, 1988, p. 126b. None of these was Han Chinese.

[71] MS: 4535.

charged with making flower offering to the Buddha and bringing home one of the Buddha's teeth kept in Sri Lanka (Xilanshan 錫蘭山, "Mountainous Isle of Ceylon"). But it was only in 1411 that the Ming navy managed to seize the sacred tooth following a small military conflict with the locals. The Buddha's relic arrived in Nanjing on July 29, 1411 (the 9th day of the 7th month, the 9th year of the Yongle era). A record of this event, not found in the *Ming shilu* and *Mingshi*, was noted by Qing scholars who found it inserted in Xuanzang's 玄奘 *Datang Xiyu ji* 大唐西域記. The record was apparently an interlinear note added by Ming editors with reference to the toponym Siṃhala but was confused with the basic text in the process of printing.[72] It is especially noteworthy that in 1413 Zhu Di faithfully reported this event in a letter to the fifth Karma pa[73] who had left Nanjing in 1408.

Zheng He was non-Han. He came from a Muslim familiy in Yunnan where his Bukhara forefathers had settled in the Yuan period. He is best known by the

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[72] See Chen Yuan, "Foya gushi 佛牙故事", Cuncui Xueshe 存萃學社 ed. *Chen Yuan Xiansheng jin niannian shixue lunji* 陳垣先生近廿年史學論集, Hong Kong: Chongwen Shudian, 1971, pp. 33-40.

[73] See Su Bai, "Lasa Budala Gong zhuyao diantang he kucang de bufen Mingdai wenshu 拉薩布達拉宮主要殿堂和庫藏的部分明代文書" , in his *Zangchuan Fojiao siyuan kaogu* 藏傳佛教寺院考古, Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe, 1996, pp. 208-221). MSL 12: 1477-78 only tells us how Zheng He's fleet was attacked by the locals and how he managed to capture the king.

epithet Sanbao Taijian 三保太監 which was a special title for ranking eunuchs.[74] Sanbao (三保 or 三寶, Skr. *triratna*) as a personal name, which has nothing to do with Tib. *bzang po* "good", was found already in the Jin and Yuan period.[75] It seems to belong with such Buddhist names as Sanbaonu 三寶奴, Guanyinnu 觀音奴, Guanyinbao 觀音保 etc. frequently found among the Khitans of the Liao and later among the Uyghurs[76], Jurchens and Mongols in the Yuan period. Samboo was also a much common name among the Manchus who inherited the Jurchen naming practice. Due to the considerable cultural influences from the Altaic peoples in Liao, Jin and Yuan times, the Chinese transcribed the name's second syllable inconsistently as if dealing with a foreign name.[77] Zheng He's title might be viewed as being part of Yuan heritage. It is also very likely that it was already so in the Yuan palace that eunuchs were generally brought up in a

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[74] Cf. 劉馬兒三保太監, in Tan Qian 談遷, *Guoque* 國榷, Taibei: Dingwen Shuju, 1978, p. 3006.

[75] *Jinshi* 金史, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1975, p. 1569; YS: 863. Paul Pelliot had already recognized its Buddhist connection (Pelliot, 1933: 258).

[76] For the Uyghur name, see Peter Zieme, "Samboqdu et alii. Einige alttürkische Personennamen im Wandel der Zeiten", in *Journal of Turkology* 2.1 (1994), pp. 119-133.

[77] This was partly due to the fact that there was a much common ending *-bo* / *-bu* in Khitan names which was transcribed by Ch. *bao* 保.

Buddhist ambiance.[78] Zheng He had a Buddhist name called Bsod nams bkra shis 速南吒釋 and, before setting out on a new voyage, he usually made donations to print Buddhist scriptures to thank the Buddha with whose blessings he was able to sail safely.[79] In Nanjing, he was responsible for overseeing the construction

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[78] For Ming eunuchs' Buddhist practice, cf. Lu Rong quoted in 3.2 above.

[79] We learn about all this from the colophon to a Ming edition of the *Youposaijie jing* 優婆塞戒經 as recorded in Deng Zhicheng, *Gudong suoji*, Beijing: Zhongguo Shudian, 1991, p. 593. Chen Nan was the first to highlight this very interesting record, see Chen Nan, "Mingdai Zangchuan Fojiao dui neidi de yingxiang", *Zhongguo Zangxue* 4 (1998), pp. 48-51. Zheng He most likely received the Tibetan name when he took his *upāsaka* vow (*youposai jie*).

We know very little about the religious aspect of the nautical activities in the Yuan dynasty. However we find Dal ye (Darui 達叡), one of the Korean disciples of the Indian monk Zhikong, bearing the title *hanghai situ* 航海司徒 "Minister of Navigation" (see T2089.51: 984c in which it is punctuated wrongly as 航海司、徒達叡). Although it might be argued that *hanghai* could be the name of a disciple of Zhikong, in view of the fact that the other two of Zhikong's disciples bore the name Dal hyun (Daxuan 達玄) and Dal on (Dayun 達蘊), i. e., all begin with *da*, it seems less probable that *hanghai* (which does not begin with *da*) was the name of yet another disciple of the Indian monk. For the particular line 其徒達玄航海司徒達叡從清慧得之俱東歸 (T2089.51: 984c), Arthur Waley's translation reads: "Ta-hsüan embarked on the sea and Ch'ing-hui gave his portion to Ta-jui. Both Ta-jui and Ta-hsüan returned to the East (i. e., Korea)." (A. Waley, "New Light on Buddhism in Medieval India", *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques* 1 [1931-2], p. 373) It seems to me that this should be read as: "His disciple Dal hyun as well as Dal ye the Minister of Navigation acquired them (i. e., their master's relics) from Qinghui. They [then] together set off eastwards back to Korea."

I believe that Zheng He's naval expeditions can be better appraised if we could know more about his Yuan predecessors.

and renovation of monasteries and pagodas using the remaining fund for the seafaring campaigns. The most glorious architectural project was the Da Bao'ensi 大報恩寺 [80] built for commemorating the emperor's mother. Zheng He did not forget to obtain imperial sponsorship to restore the Libaisi 禮拜寺 or Jingjuesi 淨覺寺, the oldest mosque in Nanjing.[81] It therefore seems that bearing a Buddhist name in Tibetan does not mean that Zheng He was no longer a Muslim. He was a Muslim-*cum*-Buddhist. This religious duality should have rendered him greater flexibility in carrying out the missions assigned to him. Unfortunately, because he was a eunuch and could not develop close friendship with scholar-officials of the outer court, we find him nowhere in the latter's writings and thus what we know of this very important historical figure—no doubt one of the most important in the fifteenth-century world history—is regrettably limited.

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[80] Cf. Wang Shixing, *Guang zhi yi* (*Taizhou congshu* edition), 2: 126; Zhang Dai, *Tao'an mengyi*, Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 1982, p. 2.; MSL 14: 2441.

[81] *Zheng He jiapu*, in Zhongguo Hanghaishi Yanjiuhui ed., *Zheng He jiashi ziliao*, Beijing: Renmin Jiaotong Chubanshe, 1985, pp. 3, 7.

3.5 The Continuation of Mongolian Practices?

The Mongolian background of Zhu Di's interest in Tibetan Buddhism was so remarkable that the historian Tan Qian 談遷 (1594-1657) was prompted to express this doubt:

> 西僧善幻，文皇深信之。或曰："尙師即帝師也，史臣諱之耳。"而太祖實錄中亦稱尙師，豈猶沿元制，果有所諱乎。[82]

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[82] Tan Qian, *Guoque*, Taibei: Dingwen Shuju, 1978, p. 1004. *Shangshi* 尙 / 上師 was not a new term coined in Ming times. We find this term already in Yuan writings. For instance, according to the *Shangtianzhu Zhantang Fashi taming* 上天竺湛堂法師塔銘 by the Jinhua 金華 scholar Huang Jin 黃溍 (*Jinhua Huang Xiansheng wenji*, in *Xuxu Siku quanshu* 1323, 41: 6b-7b), the Zhejiang monk Zhantang Xingcheng 湛堂性澄 (a scholar of Tiantai 天台 Buddhism who had planned to travel to Korea to collect rare Tiantai texts missing in China) regretted that tantrism was not transmitted to China (秘密教不傳於東土), so he studied with Danba Shangshi 膽巴上師 (Gongjiagelasi 功嘉葛剌思, that is, Sga A gnyan dam pa Kun dga' grags pa, a disciple of the *dishi*. His biography was selected to conclude the *Collected Biographies of Supernatural Monks* or *Shenseng zhuan* 神僧傳 compiled by the Yongle emperor) and received the title of Juehai Yuanming 覺海圓明 (Juehai = Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, cf. Fohai Dashi 佛海大師, the title bestowed on him by the Yingzong 英宗 emperor Šidebala where *fohai* also corresponds to *sangs rgyas rgya mtsho*. As for Yuanming, it might be Rig 'dzin phun tshogs). Xingcheng also studied with a certain Hazun (< Tib. *lha btsun*) Shangshi 哈尊上師. Here, *shangshi* corresponds to Tib. *bla ma*. The interaction between Tiantai Buddhism and Tibetan Buddhism in Zhejiang during the Yuan dynasty deserves a separate study. Here, I only wish to point out the fact that Uyghur monks who knew both Tibetan and Chinese played an intermediate role in the Sino-Tibetan religious dialogue. We know that the Uyghur monk Prajñāsrī (Boreshili 般若室利) was charged with translating Buddhist texts in various languages by the Renzong 仁宗 emperor Ayurbarvada. In 1312, the

The Western monk (i.e., the fifth Karma pa) excelled in magic, [so] Wenhuang (i. e., Zhu Di) believed in him profoundly. Some say: "*Shangshi* was [actually] *dishi* but the imperial chroniclers [had to] cover up [the actual title]," and [Tibetan monks are] also called *shangshi* in the *Veritable Record of the Taizu Emperor* (*Taizu shilu*).[83] Could it be that the Yuan custom was still followed and there really involves a cover-up [in the chronicles]?

Uyghur translator "read and translated" (*duyi* 讀譯) the *Tiantai zhiguan* 天台止觀 with Wo'an Benwu 我菴本無 (Xingcheng's successor), see Benwu's *Lengyan jizhu xu* 楞嚴集註序 (ZGMZ2 6: 135a). According to Song Lian, he collaborated with another Zhejiang monk Pufu Hongji 普福弘濟 (1271-1356) to translate the *Xiao zhiguan* 小止觀 into Uyghur and Hongji's fluency (*wencai huanfa* 文彩煥發) embarrassed him (see Song Lian 28: 3b where 般若空利 is a misprint for 般若室利). This seems to suggest that the Zhejiang monk was well-versed in Uyghur. Song Lian referred to the Uyghur translator as the President [of Buddhist Clergies] of Qoco (Gaochang Zongtong 高昌總統 where *zongtong* refers to *Shijiao duzongtong* 釋教都總統). His name was sometimes transcribed as Bilannashili 必蘭納識理 based on how "Prajñāśrī" was pronounced in Uyghur or Mongolian. He was also a disciple of 'Phags pa. In 1332, he was executed for being involved in Prince Örü Temür's revolt (YS: 4520). The *zhiguan* treatises by the sixth-century Tiantai master Zhiyi 智顗 include techniques of breath control and sound articulation for meditative and medical purposes which could be compared with the Tibetan *rtsa rlung* practice. That is why the *Xiao zhiguan*—the précis of or the introduction to this corpus of the Tiantai literature—was chosen for translation.

[83] I do not find any reference to a Tibetan monk as *shangshi* in the *Taizu shilu.*

In 2.3 we saw that Zhu Yuanzhang downgraded the highest titles *dishi* and *tianshi* that the Yuan court had granted to Buddhist and Taoist hierarchs in order that they did not sound overly superior. Zhu Di probably did not care so much about such a nominal distinction. He might have wished to entitle the Karma pa *dishi* but one must also recognize that there was no practical need for him to breach the law of the Taizu emperor over such a matter. He could honor the young Karma pa as his spiritual tutor without having to name the latter *dishi* openly.[84] Still, Tan Qian's remarks confirm that the Ming scholars recognized Zhu Di's genuine interest in Tibetan Buddhism.

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[84] That Zhu Di addressed the Karma pa *shangshi* is borne out in a bilingual letter dated February 25, 1407 which has been reproduced in SD: 24. The letter's tone and format (viz. every time the Karma pa's title is addressed, it is placed at the beginning of a new line as marked by * below) betray Zhu Di's unusual respect to the young Tibetan monk.

> 大明皇帝致意
> * 法尊大乘尙師哈立麻：
> 朕勞
> * 尙師遠來，已慰所望。
> * 尙師又以馬進，厚意深至，朕領受之，不勝欣喜。
> 用致書酬答，以申朕意。
> *尙師其亮之！

To translate it into English: "The Daming emperor [hereby] extends his grateful thought to the Dharma Lord (Ch. *fazun* < Tib. *chos rje*), the *bla ma* (*shangshi*) of the Grand Vehicle (the Tibetan version reads *chos rje theg pa chen po'i bla ma*), the Karma pa: I have troubled *bla ma* to come from afar. [*Bla ma*'s very arrival] has already gratified my longing. [Now] *bla ma* even presented horses [to me]. [*Bla ma*'s] great cordiality reached me so profoundly

I have suggested above that Toγon Temür was Zhu Di's predecessor in his pursuit of Tibetan Buddhism. In Chinese sources, Toγon Temür was famous for his tantric practice, the so-called *yanshe'er* 演揲兒, which allegedly means "great happiness" (*daxile* 大喜樂). He was also reported to have indulged in a mysterious practice called *xielang wugai* 些郎兀該 which, according to the

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which I received with overwhelming delight. Therefore, in response, I present this letter to express my gratitude. *Bla ma*, may you perceive me as sincere!" Unfortunately, much was lost in the Tibetan translation which includes a number of awkward expressions:

> *ta'i ming rgyal po'i thugs dgongs la/ chos rje theg pa chen po'i bla ma kar ma pa/ khyed sa thag ring po nas/ 'o brgyal mdzad nas 'dir byon pas/ nged kyi bsam pa thams cad grub/ bla ma yang da lta/ 'bul rta phul/ khyed kyi thugs dgongs bzang po bsam gyi <gyis> mi khyab/ nged kyis/ khyed kyi rta blangs/ nan tar sems la dga'/ da lta/ zhu yig 'di/ khyed la phyir lan po yin/ nged kyi bsam pa yin/ bla ma'i thugs la mkhyen pa yin//*
>
> The Daming emperor thought: the Karma pa, the Dharma Lord and the *bla ma* of the Grand Vehicle, because you have arrived here after taking troubles [to travel] from the distant land, all my wish was fulfilled. *Bla ma*, now again, you have offered horse-tribute. [The magnitude of] your kind intention is inconceivable. Your horse[s] were accepted and I was much delighted. Now, this letter is a reply (*phyir lan po* "answering back" was calqued on Ch. *chouda* 酬答) to you and is [a sign of] my thought[fulness]. May this be perceived by *bla ma*'s heart!

Zhu Di wrote this letter to the Karma pa while the latter was present at the court, because they could not understand each other without the assistance of interpreters. It is truly unfortunate that the translator of the letter made little effort (or he was not skillful enough?) to convey the very significant implications embedded in the emperor's Chinese letter.

Chinese writer, means "nothing hinders" (*shishi wu'ai* 事事無礙).[85] Rolf Stein adopted the reading *jieji wugai* 皆即兀該 given in YS: 4583 and suggested that "*kiai-tsi* ou *ki-tsi* (i.e., *jieji*—my note) pourrait être une forme dialectale de *kiǰaɣar* 'limite, borne' ou de *kiǰaɣalaši*". Therefore Stein proposed that *jieji wugai* = Mo. *kiǰaɣar/ kiǰaɣalaši ügei* "illimité".[86] Herbert Franke, on the other hand, opined that *xieji* 些即 is the correct reading which "führt auf mong. *säǰik* 'Skrupel, Zweifel'".[87] As for *yanshe'er*, Stein opined that *yan* should be read in its Chinese sense "to perform" while *she'er* was Mo. *ǰirɣal* "happiness". Franke proposed an unattested Mongolian form *äldär / ändär* for *yanshe'er*: "Man kann allenfalls vermuten, daβ die Wurzel *äl-* 'friedlich, erfreulich' hier durch das bekannte Nominalbildungssuffix *-där* erweitert worden ist." I shall propose an alternative solution to this puzzling passage. It seems obvious to me that the author simply linked Mo. *ügei* "without" to Ch. *wu'ai* "non-obstruction" since their pronunciations were quite close to each other (Ch. *ai* being pronounced [ŋai]). He knew of the famous metaphysical term of Huayan 華嚴 Buddhism

[85] GSWS: 70-71.

[86] See Stein's review of Robert van Gulik's *Erotic Colour Prints of the Ming Period* in *Journal Asiatique* 240 (1952), p. 536.

[87] See Franke's review of van Gulik in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* Bd. 105, 2 (1955), p. 386.

shishi wu'ai "mutual non-obstruction of all events" (It does not mean "boundless, infinite" as suggested by Stein's *kiǰaγalaši ügei*, or "doubtless" as suggested by Franke's *seǰig ügei*) and borrowed the term to condemn the Mongol royal members for having engaged in immoral activities. Since the pronunciation of *xielang* was very different from *shishi*, the editors of YS seem to have reasoned that *xielang* was a scribal error for *jieji* (*xie* and *jie*, *lang* and *ji* look quite alike orthographically) which was pronounced much closer to *shishi* and, as such, *xielang* was "corrected" to *jieji*. The proper Mongolian word for Ch. *wu'ai* should be *dürbel ügei*. It is very likely that *xielang wugai* was Mo. *[γa]salang ügei* "sorrowless", the correct Chinese translation of which should be *wuyou* 無憂 [88]. The Chinese author's misinterpretation of the Mongolian word can, of course, neither prove nor disprove the Mongol emperor's misconduct.

Now what concerns us here is that the so-called *yanshe'er* practice involved techniques of breath control (*yunqi zhi shu* 運氣之術) which the Mongol emperor studied with Tibetan monks from Rong po (Longbu 隴卜).[89] It seems to me that *yanshe'er* was none other than the famous yoga practice called *yantra*

[88] Skr. *aśoka*, Tib. *mya ngan med*; the "sorrowless tree" or *mya ngan med pa'i ljon* was also used symbolically or metaphorically in the medical context, cf. *Rtsa rgyud rde'u 'grem mya ngan med pa'i ljon pa* by 'Ju Mi pham rgya mtsho, in *Sman yig phyogs bsgrigs*, Chengdu: Sichuan Minzu Chubanshe, 1992, p. 1.

[89] GSWS: 70. Schulte-Uffelage: 68 takes *longbu* as Tib. *blon po* "Minister" which is incorrect.

"mechanism" in Sanskrit. We read in the *Fanyi mingyi ji* 翻譯名義集 (where the *Da ji jing* 大集經 is quoted *in tandem* with the *Tiantai chanmen* 天台禪門): the human body is like a puppet (*guanlie* 關捩, a "machine" or *yantra*), the breath flow in the body is like the cord (*liesheng* 捩繩, Skr. *yantra-sūtra*) attached to the puppet, and the mind that controls breath is like the hands of the player who controls the puppet's motion.[90] Since Skr. *-tra* tended to become *-tir* in Uyghur (e.g., Skr. *śāśtra* > Uyg. *šastir*), Ch. *yanshe'er* (*she* being pronounced *die*) should reflect Skr. *yantra* being pronounced by someone with heavy Uyghur accent (most likely a Uyghur monk).

Stein mentions in the same article a palace copy of a tantric text kept in the Beijing Library which was a new translation (*xinyi* 新譯) made by Zhiguang 智光 based on a Tibetan version (*yi Xifan ben* 依西番本) and contains a chapter entitled *Taiyi daxile ji daoguo zhuan* 太醫大喜樂及道果傳. Whether this text is still extant is not clear. The term *taiyi* indicates that at least this chapter is a medical text. *Daoguo* reflects Tib. *lam 'bras* and it is not unusual that this term be found in the title of a Tibetan medical text.[91] It is therefore very likely that

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[90] T2131.54: 1164b.

[91] An example is Bod mkhas pa Mi pham dge legs rnam rgyal's *Gso rig gzhi lam 'bras bu'i rnam gzhag la dpyad pa'i dri lan legs bshad rin po che'i snang ba gsar pa.*

Toγon Temür's tantric practice, the so-called *daxile* "great happiness"[92], was based on a certain Tibetan medical text. In this regard, one cannot help pondering on the curious remarks of Zhu Di who, contemplating a portrait of Toγon Temür, pointed out that the Mongol emperor had the temperament and outward appearance of a *taiyi* 太醫 "court physician".[93]

Zhiguang was sent by both Zhu Yuanzhang and Zhu Di to India and Nepal. His Indian follower Sangkebala 桑渴巴辣 (Saṃghapāla) was appointed instructor at the Printery and Repository of Tibetan Scriptures (Fanjingchang *jiaoshou* 番經廠教授) of the Ming court by Zhu Di.[94] The medical text in question must have been translated into Chinese by Zhu Di's imperial order. This seems to suggest that Zhu Di was more serious in his practice of Buddhism than what has been recognized by historians in general.

[92] Cf. *drang srong kun dga' ba* "the sage Kun dga' ba" found in Tibetan medical texts and note that Tib. *kun dga' ba* could very well be rendered by Ch. *daxile*.

[93] See note 14 above.

[94] Minghe 明河, *Bu "Xu gaoseng zhuan"* 補續高僧傳 (Z 1524.77: 373a). Among the prefaces Zhu Di wrote for the Buddhist scriptures printed by the court, two are directly related to Tibetan tantras, viz. the *Zhenshimingjing* 真實名經 (*'Jam dpal mtshan brjod*) and the *Xijingang benxu* 喜金剛本續 (*Kye rdo rje'i rtsa rgyud*), see *Daming Taizong Huangdi yuzhiji* 大明太宗皇帝御製集 (*Gugong zhenben congkan* 故宮珍本叢刊 526), Haikou: Hainan Chubanshe, 2000, pp. 21, 24.

3.6 Did Zhu Di ever Plan to Conquer Tibet by Force?

According to Karma pa hagiographers, Zhu Di proposed to Chos dpal bzang po to back up the Karma bka' brgyud sect at the expense of other Tibetan sects but the offer was declined by the Karma pa who did not want to see Tibet being subjugated militarily by the Ming just as it was by the Yuan Mongols. Instead, the Karma pa suggested to the emperor to bestow imperial favor on other Tibetan hierarchs equally.[95] Such an account should not be taken at face value. The narrative was patterned after that of the 'Phags pa lama in order to equal the status of the Karma pa to that of 'Phags pa.[96] It seems that he Karma pa hagiographers magnified the image of their own sect in Tibet by (1) exaggerating the Karma pa's role in saving Tibet from the disaster of being conquered militarily by the Ming;[97] (2) attributing the profits that other Tibetan hierarchs

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[95] See Dieter Schuh, *Erlasse und Sendschreiben mongolischer Herrscher für tibetische Geistliche*, St. Augustin: VGH-Wissenschaftsverlag, 1977, pp. 216-217; E. Sperling *Early Ming Policy Toward Tibet: An Examination of the Proposition that the Early Ming Emperors Adopted a "Divide and Rule" Policy Toward Tibet*, Ph.D. Thesis from Indiana Universiy, 1983, p. 89-97.

[96] This is already noted in Sperling, op. cit., p. 94 but, finding this narrative so much in favor of his position to invalidate the "divide and rule" theory, Sperling adds: "[...] there is no reason to doubt the historicity of the Ming emperor's proposal and the Karma pa's rejection of it".

[97] As we have seen in Chapter Two, the fear of a Ming military conquest is already found in the fourth Karma pa's biography.

obtained from the Ming to the kindness of the Karma pa. Tibetan hierarchs made use of the invitations from the Ming court to promote their respective status in Tibet. As the Dge lugs pa sect became increasingly dominant in Tibet, Tibetan writers unanimously wrote that Shākya ye shes 釋迦也失 (1354-1435) was entitled *dishi* by the Ming court. Likewise the Sa skya hierarch Kun bkras pa 昆澤思巴 (Kun dga' bkra shis pa, 1349-1425) who "rekindled the fire of the Sa skya teachings" (*sa skya pa'i bstan pa me ro blang pa*)[98] was also made a *dishi* of Zhu Di (*rgyal po'i bla ma ti shri mdzad*) in the history written by the Stag tshang pa scholar Dpal 'byor bzang po.

It is very unlikely that Zhu Di should have any interest in conquering Tibet by force. In fact, even in dealing with the border Tibetans, Zhu Di was much less aggressive than Zhu Yuanzhang.

Since Zhu Di devoted most of the national resources to the campaigns against Annam (Vietnam) and the Oirat Mongols, to the large-scale naval expeditions, as well as to the construction of a new capital in Beijing, his policy towards the rebellious Tibetan border tribes differed from that of Zhu Yuanzhang.[99] Zhu Di was much ready to offer amnesties in the hope that the rebels would submit peacefully. Thus we read:

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[98] RB: 344.

[99] Note the remarkable event that came to be exposed on June 3, 1427 (宣德二年五月丙申): "The government's regular troops in the Guard of Songpan, being afraid of having to campaign against Vietnam" (松潘衛官軍懼征交阯), had provoked the local Tibetans into

[永樂元年十一月己卯]：四川行都司奏："越巂衛之地，番賊不時出沒，請調軍剿捕。" 上諭兵部尚書劉俊曰："鼠竊狗偷，蠻夷常性。若能嚴加備御，彼亦何施。今不務此，而輒欲興兵。殊不思官軍一動，善惡均受其害，況所費亦重。但今嚴兵守備，而遣人撫諭之。" [100]

[November 19, 1403:] The Branch Military Commission of Sichuan reported: "Tibetan brigands (*fanzei*) rove [and rob] from time to time in the areas belong to the Guard of Yuesui.[101] We entreat [the court] to transfer troops hither to hunt them down." His Majesty decreed Liu Jun, the Minister of the Board of War: "Practising petty burglaries is the disposition of the barbarians. If

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rebellion (*ji bian* 激變) so that they were allowed to stay there to pacify the Tibetans and would not be sent to the Vietnam war.

[100] MSL 10: 451.

[101] The region in question was Qiongbu 邛部 (south of Chengdu) which, in the Yuan period, was placed under the Pacification Commission of Qiongbu (Qiongbu Anfu Zhaotaosi 邛部安撫招討司) (MS: 8020). This is to be distinguished from Qiongbu in Khams, i.e., Khyung po, which was also called Upper and Lower Khyung po (Shangxia Qiongbu 上下邛部) in Ming times.

> we defend with more caution, what [harm] can those [Tibetans] impose [on us]? Now, instead of striving for this (i.e., proper defense), [the Sichuan military personnel] simply want to start war. They pay no attention to the fact that once the government troops set into motion both good and evil peoples would become victims, not to mention the heavy expenditure to be incurred. Now, just take special precaution to defend [the border] and send someone to comfort and counsel them (i.e., to offer amnesty to the Tibetans).

Again, on March 1, 1412, Zhu Di sent Commander Kang Shou 康壽 to offer amnesty to the local chieftains in Har gdong 罕東 instead of sending troops thither.[102]

It should be noted again that the Tibetans directly involved in the Sino-Tibetan military conflicts in the Ming period were from the border tribes in the Qinghai and Sichuan regions, and not from Tibet proper. The border Tibetans harassed both Chinese and Tibetan missions that traveled to and fro between the Ming court and Dbus-Gtsang. The recurring Tibetan hostility on the Sino-Tibetan borders, as already pointed out in 2.3, was partly due to the Yuan strategem that

[102] MSL 12: 1558. Kang Shou was a *tuguan* "aboriginal officer" in the Guard of 'Bri (Biliwei 必里衛).

placed the Hans there to fight the Tibetans. Although the Ming court imposed overlordship on Tibet, to place such a remote region under its direct military control would yield little benefit. Even in his dealings with Tibetan border tribes, Zhu Di avoided pacification by force.

We read in Tshe dbang rgyal's biographical account of Stag lung chos rje Bkra shis dpal rtsegs (1359-1424):

> *rgya nag rgyal po tha'i dzung gis dbus gtsang gi bshes gnyen rnams la gnang sbyin dang/ bal por 'phags pa shing kun la sku dkar do dam dang/ gdugs 'bul ba la sman rtse dga' zhing gis 'go byas gser yig pa'i zla bo dbus gtsang 'phrin las pa 'ong ba/ khyung pos brgyab nas rgya bod kyi gser zam chad na rgya dmag 'ong nges zer ba la/ lam gyi sems can mang po la thugs brtse bar dgongs nas 'bri gdan gyi mi sna ngo chen la khrid nas byang du byon/*[103]
>
> When the Chinese emperor Tha'i dzung (Taizong 太宗, Zhu Di's posthumous title) [sent envoys] to offer gifts to Dbus-Gtsang's spiritual friends (Tib. *bshes gnyen*, Skr. *mitra*), a white guardian statue and an umbrella to the Svayambhunāth stupa ('Phags pa

[103] LR: 576.

shing kun) in Nepal, as the entourage of the imperial envoys led by the Southern Chinese (*sman rtse*) Dga' zhing [and] the tributary mission (*'phrin las pa*) of Dbus-Gtsang [who returned from the court] were coming, [the Tibetans in] Khyung po assaulted them. As it was alleged that Chinese troops would certainly come [to Tibet] once the Sino-Tibetan "golden bridge" (*rgya bod kyi gser zam*) was broken, having thought compassionately of the many sentient beings on the path and having been sought to intervene [the conflict between Khyung po and 'Bri gung[104]] by the notables of the'Bri gung monastery, [Bkra shis dpal brtsegs] came to the north.

Also, in Stag lung Ngag dbang rnam rgyal's account:

> *rgya nag gong ma'i gser yig pa khyung pos brgyab pas rgya dmag bod du 'ong zer nas dngangs pa thugs kyis ma bzod de khyung por byon/ [... ...] khyung po la gnang sbyin rngams chen mdzad de zhal tas dkrol <bkrol> bas/ ka'o ming bcu gcig gis thog drangs pa'i srang khri phrag bcu gnyis kyi zog shor 'dug pa gtsang mar sprad/ gser yig pa dang de'i zla la dbus gtsang gi 'bul sdud pa*

[104] Cf. LR: 577: *byang ngos su 'bri gung dang khyung po ma 'cham pa/*

> *dang tshong pa ji snyed yod pa la'ang gnang sbyin bzang po bstsal [...].*[105]
>
> As it was alleged that Chinese troops would be coming to Tibet because the Chinese emperor's envoys were assailed by [the Tibetans in] Khyung po and, [as such,] the hearts [of those in Tibet] were overwhelmed by terror, [Bkra shis dpal brtsegs] came to Khyung po. [... ...] Because he offered a gift of large magnitude [as a ransom] to the Khyung po Tibetans and counselled them, the lost goods—amount to 10, 012 units of weight— headed by 11 edicts (*ka'o ming* < Ch. *gaoming* 誥命) were handed over unspoiled. To the envoys and their entourage as well as to all the tribute payers and traders of Dbus-Gtsang, the nice gifts [from the court] were restored.

Though not stated explicitly by the Tibetan writers, it is still possible to determine approximately the year in which this event took place by considering the following clues:

(1) In both LR and SL, the narrative sequence indicates that Bkra shis dpal brtsegs came to Khyung po after he had helped in pacifying an internal unrest (*nang zing*) within Sne gdong which took place in the mid-1380s[106].

[105] SL: 372.

(2) In the biographical sketch of Bsod nams grags pa (1359-1408, the *spyan snga* of Gdan sa Thel), we read that some time after he was 28 (= 27) in the earth-male-hog (*sa mo phag*) year (1386) the *spyan snga* was able to bind all protective deities into servitude (*chos skyong thams cad bran du 'khol*) and, even though he did not incite pressingly the protective deities of Khyung po when the mission was assaulted in Khyung po, he punished the deities.[107]

From these we know that the Khyung po event took place some time after 1386 and the Chinese emperor should be Zhu Yuanzhang (the Taizu emperor), and could not be Zhu Di (the Taizong emperor). An entry for March 2, 1388 in MSL[108] mentions a mission carrying 7 edicts, 1 decree and 3 tallies (誥七道，敕

[106] See also Roerich, op. cit., pp. 641-646. According to DS, later in Stag lung, Bkra shis dpal brtsegs received the title of Guoshi, a silver seal etc. from Zhu Di (Vol. *Nya*, 107r: *[...] phyir phebs/ gong nas rgyal po ye dbang gis gu shrī'i las ka/ dngul gyi tham kha ka'o ming dang bcas pa'i gnang sbyin mang po gnang nas sleb/*). An edict addressed to him is found in SL: 379. This, too, is not mentioned in MSL.

[107] LR 385: *'phrin las pa la khyung pos brgyab dus su chos skyong cher nan gyis rbad pa med na'ang/ khyung po chos skyong gi bka' chad byung [... ...].*

[108] The same entry records that the Guanding Guoshi of Phag mo gru pa (怕木竹巴灌頂國師) Bsod nams grags pa'i rgyal mtshan (鎖南札思巴噫監藏, the very same Bsod nams grags pa we just mentioned) memorialized his abdication of the seat to his half brother Grags pa rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po (吉剌思巴監藏巴藏卜) which was sanctioned by the Ming court.

旨一道，符驗三道) for the Nepalese king and Tibetan officials. These 11 documents were very likely the *ka'o ming bcu gcig* mentioned in SL. So the Khyung po event most likely took place in 1388 although the attack in Khyung po is not mentioned in MSL. It is not clear whether the Tibetan unrest in Khyung po (in Chab mdo) was related to the Yuesui "Khyung po" (Qiongbu) where the Tibetans remained hostile to the Ming. We learn from the biography of Mu Chun 沐春 (the eldest son of Mu Ying 沐英) that in the spring of the year of Jiaxu 甲戌 (1394), Mu Chun "pacified again the Tibetan raiders of Yuesui".[109] Also, we have seen above that in November 1403 Zhu Di turned down the proposal of launching a punitive campaign against Yuesui. On June 26, 1415, Zhu Di established the Guard of Upper Qiongbu (Shangqiongbuwei 上邛部衛) in Khyung po and the Tibetan head (*toumu* 頭目) Byams pa dpal (Zhangbabo 掌巴伯) was appointed Guard Commander (Zhihuishi 指揮使).[110] This new arrangement might have something to do with the unstable situation in the Guard of Yuesui. On May 2, 1427, the Xuanzong emperor dispatched the eunuch Hou Xian 侯顯 to Tibet and Nepal and decreed the border guards, Phag mo gru pa, 'Bri khung ba / 'Bri gung ba (Biligongwa 必力工瓦), myriarchs (*wanhu* 萬戶,

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[109] Huang Zuo, *Gechu yishi jieben*, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1991, p. 14: 復平越雋<巂> 番寇.

[110] MSL 13: 1851.

khri dpon), citadel-officers (*zhaiguan* 寨官, *rdzong dpon*), major and minor chiefs (*daxiao toumu* 大小頭目) and militia (*junmin* 軍民) in Dbus-Gtsang to furnish provisions and escorts[111] for the imperial envoys. We learn from Hou Xian's report in a MSL entry for February 22, 1430 that the envoys were pillaged again in the Khyung po area (邛部之地).[112] This seems to indicate that Bkra shis dpal brtsegs's effort was not as successful as what the Tibetan hagiographers would like us to believe.

Hence it is clear that even though there was a need of sending troops to pacify Tibetan border tribes, Zhu Di avoided doing so whenever possible. The suspicion of Zhu Di's having a plan to send Chinese troops to Tibet proper is therefore unwarranted and, in this regard, the reliability of Tibetan hagiographies must be discounted.

3.7 Reaching out into Tibet's Hinterland

Hou Xian's mission that invited the fifth Karma pa to the Ming court had made the emperor wait for about four years. Therefore on April 20, 1407 (two months after the arrival of the fifth Karma pa), Zhu Di decreed that the Phag mo gru pa, 'Bri khung pa etc. were to restore postal stations, which were established in the Yuan period, in order to facilitate future journeys of his envoys to the

[111] MSL 17: 703: 給道里費，且遣人防護.

[112] MSL 19: 1474.

"western regions" (*xiyu*).[113] This indicates that postal stations in Tibet had declined or become defunct since the collapse of the Yuan Dynasty. On April 24, the Vice-Commanders of Shaanxi Liu Zhao 劉昭 and He Ming 何銘 were sent to set up postal stations in Xifan, Mdo-Khams and Dbus-Gtsang.[114] It took nearly two years for He Ming and some sixty personnels to accomplish the task and their return was reported on February 22, 1409.[115] On October 26, 1410, Zhu Di dispatched the eunuch Guan Seng 關僧 to the "western land" (*xitu* 西土) to summon Kun dga' bkra shis pa ('Khon ston Kun dga' bkra shis rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po)[116] who, however, did not seem to agree immediately to take the long trip to China probably due to his age[117] for Tibetan sources make it clear

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[113] MSL 11: 918: 復置驛站，以通西域之使.

[114] MSL 11: 919-920.

[115] MSL 11: 1170. Zhu Di was then concerned with the efficiency of communication, cf. the entry for September 27, 1409 (MSL 12: 1262) where we read that he was eager to find out whether there existed a shortcut from Gansu to Beijing that would take only seven days and nights so that new postal stations could be set up along that route. Again, in January 1414, he sent Yang Sanbao to Tibet to make sure that all postal stations were restored (MSL 13: 1725).

[116] 徵尙師昆澤思巴 (MSL 12: 1400-1401). Sperling (op. cit., p. 138) reads *neiguan guanseng* as "a eunuch official and a frontier monk" which is unacceptable. Guan Seng was the eunuch's name.

[117] Cf. Sperling, op. cit., p. 139; Chen Qingying, "Lun Mingchao dui Zangchuan fojiao de guanli", in *Zhongguo Zangxue* 3 (2000), p. 61.

that there was another mission that had come to invite him in 1412. According to RB: 343, this mission was led by *ta'i tva bzhin* and *a nu dri hos pa*. The first seems to be Dai Daren 戴大人 [118] and the second being Commander (*dri hos pa* < Ch. *zhihui* 指揮) A nu.[119] However according to R: 44, this mission was headed by *yang ta bzhin* which must be Yang Daren 楊大人, the eunuch Yang Sanbao 楊三保.[120] We learn from MSL 13: 1665 that Kun dga' bkra shis was

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[118] A eunuch by the name Dai Xing 戴興 leading a mission to the Phag mo gru pa is mentioned in an entry for May 28, 1423 in MSL 14: 2377.

[119] This seems to be A nu 阿奴 who was promoted to Commander of the Branch Military Commission of Mdo-Khams (Duogan Wei Xing Dusi Zhihuishi 朵甘衛行都司指揮使) on January 25, 1414 (MSL 13: 1725). Prior to that date, A nu was Vice-Commander (Zhihui Tongzhi 指揮同知). His son Gzhon nu dpal (Ruonuba 若奴八) is mentioned in an entry for August 31, 1430 in MSL. Chen Qingying 1986: 214 renders *ta'i tva bzhin dang a nu dri hos pa* by *dadayun he anu zhihui* 大達雲和阿努指揮, the first being a meaningless re-transcription and the second is correct in the identification of the official title. Sperling, op. cit., p. 173 writes: "If these two are the same envoys referred to in the *Ming shih-lu*, one must suppose that the second person (i.e., *a nu dri hos pa*—my note) was a Chinese monk from the frontier areas who may have known Tibetan. The name given for him definitely is a transcription of a non-Tibetan name." We now know that *dri hos* transcribes Ch. *zhihui* while *a nu* is a Tibetan word meaning "lad" (*byis pa'am gzhon nu*) or "younger brother" (*nu bo*), see Zhang Yisun et al., *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo*, Chengdu: Minzu Chubanshe, 1993, p. 3120.

[120] Considering the name Sanbao, one might suspect that he was not a Han Chinese but was granted a Chinese surname by the emperor.

granted an audience with the emperor on March 10, 1413 and Yang Sanbao reported the completion of his mission on March 11, 1413. There is little doubt that it was Yang Sanbao who managed to bring the Sa skya hierarch to Nanjing. Since Yang Sanbao was in Tibet in the early 1412 and a big earthquake occurred (*sa g·yo ba chen po byung*) in September 1411 in Gtsang[121], one wonders whether Yang Sanbao's mission icluded extending assistance to restore earthquake-damaged buildings in Gtsang.

Another result of Yang Sanbao's return to court was that a number of local magnates in Gtsang who were related in one way or another to Sa skya also received a bestowal of official titles. This might be interpreted as: (1) The emperor intended to establish a closer relationship between Gtsang and the Ming court, or (2) the Sa skya pa made use of this opportunity to promote influence in Tibet. Perhaps both were true. According to MSL 13: 1666, these Gtsang nobles were:

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[121] The Rin spungs pa was seriously hit by this earthquake, see R: 43-44 (*rin spungs pa rdal du 'gyel* etc.). The Ming set up the Branch Military Commission of the Rin spungs pa Citadel (Xifan Lingsiben Zhai Xing Duzhihuishisi 西番領思奔寨行都指揮使司) only in June 1416 (MSL 13: 1928). The head (*toumu*) Nangejia'erbu 喃葛加兒卜—who must be *drung* Nam mkha' rgyal po mentioned in R: 43—was appointed Assistant Commander (Duzhihui Qianshi 都指揮僉事). The MSL entry for January 27, 1391 mentions a citadel-officer (*zhaiguan*) from the Rin spungs pa (Niansi *zhaiguan* 輦思寨官) by the name Nam rgyal (喃兒加) who paid tribute to the Ming court. This suggests that Zongle's mission (see 2.2) already got in touch with the Rin spungs pa in the 1380s.

(1) Lajiu<zan>xiao 剌咎 <昝> 肖, the *toumu* 頭目 (chieftain) of Suoba 鎖巴. This was La <Lha> btsan skyabs, the Lho bdag or Lord of South La stod (La stod lho). He was appointed *situ* 司徒. The bilingual edict of this appointment is extant and has been reproduced in SD: 25 where we find that the Tibetan version reads *khyod so pa mgo dpon lha tsang skyabs* for 爾鎖巴頭目剌咎肖 in the Chinese which means "You Lazanxiao (Lha btsan skyabs), the leader of Suoba...." It seems that the interpreters of Yang Sanbao's mission had trancribed *lho pa* by *suoba* and rendered *lho bdag* by *suoba toumu* but the *yizi sheng* 譯字生 ("translator") trained in the Tibetan Office (Xifan Guan) being a non-native speaker failed to recognize the original forms. So, in drafting the edict, he simply transcribed *suoba* into *so pa*[122] and rendered *toumu* by *mgo dpon* (presumbaly taken from the standard Chinese-Tibetan word-list used in the office). In fact, even the name was spelled wrongly. Therefore the Tibetan version offers no help to us for recovering the original form of the names. Note that the Ming Chinese represented Tib. *lh-* by Ch. *t'-* or *s-* (except for *lha* which was transcribed into *la* or *ha*), e. g., both *tunzhu* 吞竹 and *sunzhu* 損竹 represent *lhun grub*.[123] Thus it is not surprising to find that *lho pa* should be transcribed as *suoba*. Likewise, *lho pa*

[122] Tib. *so pa* means "sentinel". We find this *lho bdag* being referred to as *rgyal po lha btsan skyabs* in Tibetan sources (BDPC: 158f) and a *rgyal po* "king" certainly could not be a sentry or a chief sentry. Also, he is not known to be a sovereign of a place called *so pa.*

[123] MSL 11: 1148, MSL 13: 1666.

could also be transcribed as *tuoba* 妥巴 as in Tuoba Amoge 妥巴阿摩葛, i. e., Lho pa Amogha.[124] The Lho bdag's name is given as Lha btsan skyabs ma in SD. According to SD: 31b-32a, the Lho bdag carried out the Ming emperor's request of establishing thirteen monasteries in Śrī ri (*ta ming rgyal po'i bkas bskul ba'i shrī'i dgon gnas bcu gsum*) near Shel dkar chos sde. The Ming emperor in question must be Zhu Di. It is well known that Ming emperors had "royal monasteries" (monasteries that prayed for the royal authority) built in various places in China but this is the very first time we read that the Ming emperor even had monasteries built in La stod lho.

(2) Zhaba 劄巴 (Grags pa), the *toumu* of Zhangba 掌巴 (*byang pa*, i. e., North La stod or La stod byang).

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[124] MSL 13: 1729. According to MSL, Amogha was the father of a certain Bla ma Rje btsun pa (Lama Zhezunba 剌麻哲尊巴), the latter was present at the Ming court with Kun dga'bkra shis in 1413 (MSL 13: 1667). He was entitled *daguoshi* by the Ming court. This very Amogha was the nephew of Si tu Chos kyi rin chen (Lha btsan skyabs's father) and the last *dpon chen* of Sa skya being referred to in RB: 361 as *ming gi dpon a mo gha* ("the Ming officer Amogha"), see SD: 4, 30, and Shen Weirong, "Ming feng Situ Suoba toumu Lazanxiao kao—jianlun Yuan-Ming shidai Wusizang Laduiluo Wanhu", in *Gugong xueshu jikan* 故宮學術季刊 17.1 (1999): p. 124. For a historical sketch of La stod lho, see Karl-Heinz Everding, "La stod lho: Some Notes on the Rise and History of the Tibetan Principality", in International Association for Tibetan Studies ed., *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings pf the 7th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Graz, 1995*, Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1997, pp. 269-275.

This was Byang bdag Rnam rgyal grags pa.[125] He was also appointed *situ*.

(3) Suonanba 鎖南巴 (Bsod nams dpal), the *tuguan* (aboriginal officer) of Ba'er 八兒.

One may want to identify this with the *si tu* of Seng ge rtse, Bsod nams dpal (younger brother of the prince of Rgyal rtse, Kun dga' phags)[126], but the problem is that Ba'er was used to transcribe Tib. Bal "Nepal". This remains doubtful.

(4) Gonggeba 公葛巴 (Kun dga' 'phags), the *toumu* of Yangsiduba 仰思都巴 (Myang stod pa).

He is mentioned in MSL to have sent tributes to the Hongwu court in 1382 and 1391 where he is referred to as "the myriarch of Myang stod, Kun dga' 'phags" (Yangsiduo *wanhu* Gonggepa 仰思多萬戶公哥怕) and "the ex-*situ* of Myang stod, Kun dga' 'phags" (Yangsiduo *qiansitu* Gonggebasi 仰思多前司徒公哥巴思).[127] He was the son of 'Phags pa dpal bzang po who built the citadel of Rgyal

[125] This has been pointed out in Shen Weirong, p. 130.

[126] See RB: 383-384, Shen Weirong, p. 131.

[127] MSL 5: 2237, MSL 7: 3076.

mkhar rtse and was appointed *ronglu dafu* plus *da situ* 榮祿大夫大司徒 [128] by Toγon Temür. He inherited his father's title *si tu* which seems to have not been "renewed" by the Ming court until 1413.

(5) Guanzhuoliesibaculinjianzang 管著烈思巴簇林監藏 (Dkon mchog legs pa tshul khrims rgyal mtshan).

He was appointed Assistant Commander of the Military Commission of Dbus-Gtsang (*Wusizang Duzhihuishisi zhihui qianshi* 烏斯藏都指揮使司都指揮僉事). He can be identified with Dkon mchog legs pa mentioned in BB: 43 where we read that he was appointed *ming vu'i dzya gyun dbus gtsang du shri'i zi'i dre hos*, i. e., *mingwei jiangjun* plus *Wusizang Dushisi zhihui* 明威將軍烏斯藏都使司指揮. *Mingwei jiangjun* was a Yuan military title.[129] Apparently, this title was

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[128] RB: 385: *g·yung lu ta'i hu/ ta'i si tu*; R: 39: *g·yung lo ta ho ta'i si tu*. It was quite often that in the Yuan period the title *ronglu dafu* or *yinqing ronglu dafu* 銀青榮祿大夫 (slightly higher than *ronglu dafu*) was conferred on someone who was appointed *da situ*. For example, Chen Ping 陳苹 (son of Chen Yizhong 陳宜中, the Song premier who fled to Cambodia and, then, to Siam where he perished) who served Jinggim 真金 (Qubilai's son) held these titles. Chen was learned in Buddhist studies (*fanxue* 梵學) and was named Rin chen grags 輦真加剌思 by Qubilai. According to Huang Jin, he was entrusted by Qubilai to pacify Tibet (Tufan), see "*Yinqing ronglu dafu dasitu* Chen Gong *shendaobei* 銀青榮祿大夫大司徒陳公神道碑" (Huang Jin, op. cit., 27: 17-18). The Uyghur translator Karunadaz (Jialunadasi 迦魯納答思) was also entitled *ronglu dafu dasitu* (YS: 3261).

[129] YS: 2321.

simply renewed by the Ming court. The official title conferred on him by the Ming court was the second one.

This seems to be the first time Zhu Di paid much attention to the secular powers in Gtsang.[130] As for the Sa skya hierarch, he was entitled Zhengjue Dasheng Fawang 正覺大乘法王 (Tib. *Theg chen chos [kyi] rje* or *Theg chen chos kyi rgyal po* is a translation of *dasheng fawang*) on June 1, 1413.[131]

When the Ming envoys brought the edicts of appointment to Gtsang, the Rgyal rtse prince had already passed away. His son Rab brtan Kun bzang 'phags (1389-1442) inherited the title of *ta'i si tu*.[132] At that time, Rab brtan Kun bzang 'phags had invited several Indian monks to Lcang ra, among them was a certain Śāripūtra who was said to have been a *mkhan po* of Rdo rje gdan (Bodhgaya).[133]

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[130] The Guard of Rong po (Longbuwei 隴卜衛) was also established at the same time and a certain Bsod nams 'od zer (Suonanhan<wo>xie'er 鎖南翰 <斡> 些兒) was appointed Commander.

[131] MSL 13: 1680. He left the court on January 28, 1414 (MSL 13: 1725 where *renzi* 壬子 should be emended to *renwu* 壬午).

[132] R: 50: *g·yung lo [ta] ho ta'i si tu*. Two chief envoys mentioned in R: 50 are *ha ho ta bzhin* (Hefu Daren 何福大人?) and *gsung ta bzhin* (Song Daren 宋大人?). An MSL entry for April 9, 1434 宣德九年三月戊寅 mentions a eunuch-envoy 宋成 to Dbus-Gtsang.

[133] The Indian master is referred to in R: 49 as *shrī sha ri pu tra* and in R: 51 as *shākya shri sha ri pu tra ma hā svā mi*. RB: 388 gives *shri sha ri surtra mahā ya na* where *su* must be a misreading of *pu*, both look quite alike in the *dbu med* script.

The tantric rituals performed by the Indian monks there must have been made known to Zhu Di who soon sent envoys to invite Śāriputra.[134] By what means Zhu Di learned about the Indian monk is not documented. In view of the relationship between the Sa skya pa and the Rgyal rtse principality, there is a good chance that the information was provided by the Sa skya pa. In fact, during the period of 1412-1418, the Sa skya pa and its supporters in Gtsang did plan to rely on the Ming to make the Sa skya sect flourish as before and to reclaim the Lha khang chen mo (the major monastery of Sa skya that had fallen under the control of the Phag mo gru pa).[135] Finally in 1418 (*sa pho khyi'i lo*) when "the

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[134] R: 49-51 seems to place the invitation from *gong ma ye vang rgyal po* (Zhu Di) some time during *chu mo sbrul gyi lo* (1413) or *shing pho rta'i lo* (1414)—I am not sure whether it should be interpreted that the invitation came twice. According to MY: 52, this took place in *shing pho rta'i lo* (1414). MY does not give the name of the imperial envoy but simply states *rgya nag rgyal po ta zhin gyis spyan drangs* "invited by *ta zhin* (Ch. *daren*) [sent by] the Chinese emperor". She Wanzhi, *Houzangzhi*, Lhasa: Xizang Renmin Chubanshe, 1994, p. 31 renders it by *Handi Dacheng Wang* 漢地大成王 (connecting it with the title *Chengzu* 成祖) which does not seem to be correct. A gloss to *ta bzhin* in R: 51 reads *li chen*. Whether this was *lichen* 禮臣 ("officer of rites") or the name of the Chinese envoy (such as Li Qian 李謙, the eunuch from Yunnan?) is not certain. According to Minghe, *Bu "Xu gaoseng zhuan"* 補續高僧傳 (Z 1524.77: 531a), the Indian monk (whose name is given as Shili Shalibudeluo 實哩沙哩卜得囉) visited the Yongle court in the year of *jiawu* 甲午, that is, in 1414 and, later, the Renzong emperor entitled him *Dashan guoshi* 大善國師. He passed away in China on February 20, 1426 (宣德丙午正月十三日). The Chinese source also gives the name of his teacher, namely, Gunaluona Mahesami 孤捺囉納麻曷薩彌 (Gunaratna Mahāsvāmi).

[135] R: 44, 55.

Lha khang chen mo was presented to Theg chen chos rje" (*dbus pas lha khang chen mo theg chen gyi drung du phul*), Rab brtan Kun bzang 'phags received the letter from Kun dga' bkra shis which required him to come immediately to the ceremony at the Sa skya monastery since the edicts from the Ming court for *ta'i si tu*, *nang chen* and *thus dkon* (< Ch. *tuguan* 土官 "aboriginal officers") were to be proclaimed there. According to R: 55-56, Rab brtan Kun bzang 'phags left Rgyal rtse in March 1418 to meet with Bzhi thog pa and Theg chen chos rje. The MSL entry for January 29, 1418 which mentions the tributary mission from Theg chen chos rje and Bzhi thog pa (Rituoba 日托巴)[136] must be read in the light of this plan of Sa skya.[137]

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[136] MSL 13: 2050. Bzhi thog pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan (Rituoba Luogeluojiancan 日托巴羅葛囉監粲, 1366-1420) was entitled *da guoshi* in 1413, in the same month when Kun dga' bkra shis received the title of *theg chen chos rje* (MSL 13: 1681).

[137] Chen Qingying, 2000: 62 places Rab brtan Kun bzang 'phags' departure from Rgyal rtse in 1414. Since Chen was also quoting R, it seems to be an oversight on his part for neglecting "*sa pho khyi'i lo la*" in the bottom line of R: 54 and relating the event to "*shing pho rta'i lo la*" in R: 50. MY: 52 also places this event (*theg chen chos kyi rgyal po'i bka' shog phebs/ sa skyar phebs nas rta'i si tu/ nang chen/ thus dkon rnams kyi 'ja' sa bsgrags/*) in 1418 (*sa pho khyi lo*).

3.8 Tsong kha pa Turns Down Twice the Imperial Invitation

It should be pointed out that Kun dga' bkra shis was by no means the second Tibetan hierarch with whom Zhu Di intended to meet. Either in 1407 or the early 1408 (that is, during De bzhin gshegs pa's stay in China), Zhu Di had sent an invitation letter to Tsong kha pa Blo bzang grags pa (1357-1419). In 1413, shortly before or after Kun dga' bkra shis' arrival at the Ming court, Zhu Di sent another mission to invite Tsong kha pa. Both invitations were declined. Despite the fact that Tsong kha pa's name is not mentioned in MSL, it seems that for the Ming emperor he came before the Sa skya pa in the sequence of importance. Our knowledge of these events comes from Tibetan sources. We are informed that the first mission sent for Tsong kha pa was led by a certain *vang bre bo tā* yen.[138] This is not found in MSL which is completely silent on Tsong kha pa. The name can probably be reconstructed as *Wang zhihui daren* 王指揮大人.[139] Tsong kha pa's letters to the emperor and *nang blon gon tā yen*[140] are

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[138] See Yu Daoquan, "Yizhu Ming Chengzu qianshi zhao Zongkaba jishi ji Zongkaba fu Chengzu shu", in *Bulletin of Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica* (Issue in Honor of Prof. Ts'ai Yuan P'ei on His 65th Birthday), 1935, pp. 942-943, 953.

[139] We know that Wang Yu 王鈺 was the *zhihui* of the Guard of Hezhou (MSL 13: 1677). However there is no way to determine that he was or was not *vang bre bo* (or *bos*?).

[140] See Yu Daoquan, op. cit., pp. 948-949, 957. The *nang blon* "minister" in question was very likely a eunuch. Yu Daoquan suggested that *gon*, also given as *gong*, reflects either Gong 鞏 or Gong 龔, (both are surnames). However *gon / gong* might very well be *guan* 官 "officer" or, more likely, *gong* 公 (often used to address a eunuch in Ming times).

preserved in his collected writings but they do not provide us with much extra knowledge. The letter to the emperor dated "the ninteenth day of the sixth month of the mouse year" (*byi ba lo zla ba drug pa'i tshes bcu dgu*), that is, in 1408.[141] This was the year Tsong kha pa and his patrons Dbang (Chanhua Wang 闡化王) Grags pa rgyal mtshan of Phag mo gru pa and Dpon Nam mkha' bzang po of Sne'u rdzong made preparations for the *Smon lam chen mo* to be held in Lhasa in 1409.[142] The second mission was headed by none other than the capable eunuch Hou Xian (*tha'i rkyan he'u hyen* < *taijian* Hou Xian).[143] However the 56-year-old Tsong kha pa was still unwilling to go seemingly because he had just

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[141] One month earlier (*byi ba lo zla ba lnga pa'i tshes bco brgyad*), Tsong kha pa's teacher, the Sa skya pa scholar Red mda' ba Gzhon nu blo gros (1352-1413), also sent a reply from Mang yul Skyid grong to the emperor. We learn from SD: 75, 77 that in the 1400s Red mda' ba (also spelled Re zla pa in SD) was present in Shel dkar. In the first decade of his reign, Zhu Di showed much enthusiasm to meet with eminent monks from Tibet.

[142] Cf. Dieter Schuh, op. cit., p. 218: "[... ...] Tsong-kha-pa schickte dem Karma-pa Willkommensgeschenke und einen Brief, in dem er das Wirken des Karma-pa in China preisend hervorhob. [... ...] Die Ablehnung des Tsong-kha-pa im Jahre 1408, der Einladung des chinesischen Kaisers zu folgen, sollte im Licht dieser Ereignisse der Reise des Karma-pa neu interpretiert werden. Die in den Tsong-kha-pa-Biographien gegebenen religiösen Motive der Ablehnung waren offenbar nur ein Vorwand." Nonetheless, as I shall point out below, the actual political backdrop of Tsong kha pa's decline of the imperial invitations is not entirely clear to us.

[143] Bkra shis dbang 'dus ed., *Bod kyi lo rgyus yig tshags dang gzhung yig phyogs bsdus dvangs shel me long*, Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1989, p. 218.

recovered from a yearlong illness. By this time there were already two Tibetans, De bzhin gshegs pa and Kun dga' bkra shis, who received the title of *fawang* from the Ming court. Should Tsong kha pa follow their steps to meet with Zhu Di in person, he would receive most likely the same title, the highest that could be expected from the Ming court. That would place him at best on a par with the Karma pa and the Sa skya pa. Declining the imperial invitation twice and sending a disciple (Shākya ye shes) on his behalf to the Ming court would imply that he was superior to them all especially if his disciple were entitled *fawang* by the court. Zhu Di was certainly cognizant of this implication. Although Shākya ye shes was well received in China, he was only granted the title of *daguoshi*. Moreover, Zhu Di could not confer on Tsong kha pa the title of *fawang* because should he do so, (1) Tsong kha pa's reputation and stature would be overly promoted and would eclipse the Karma pa, and (2) no Tibetan hierarch would be attracted to the court anymore in the future had not the bestowal of the title of *fawang* on a Tibetan hierarch required the presence of the latter at the court. Consequently, Tsong kha pa received no title whatsoever from the Ming court.

One might be inclined to think that the name of Tsong kha pa is missing from MSL because only invitations that yielded fruitful results (often followed by conferrals of titles) were included. Nevertheless, since Tsong kha pa did send Shākya ye shes on his behalf to the court, one has to wonder why it is found nowhere in MSL even an entry such as "Tsong kha pa sent his disciple (*qian qitu* 遣其徒) Shākya ye shes to pay tribute to the court (*lai chao* 來朝)" which could

certainly do no harm to the prestige of the imperial court. Shākya ye shes is referred to in MSL as *shangshi* (*bla ma*), as are De bzhin gshegs pa and Kun dga' bkra shis, without mentioning the fact that he came on behalf of Tsong kha pa. The missing or thorough removal of records related to the Ming contacts with Tsong kha pa from MSL is therefore a mystery which cannot be completely explained away by the assumption that the emperor was seriously offended by Tsong kha pa's decline of his invitations. It is possible that certain internal affairs unclear to us were somehow connected, directly or indirectly, with the monarch's interest in Tsong kha pa and, in order to cover up these affairs, no archival records of Tsong kha pa could be included in MSL. In December 1408, a decree was issued to Jixi 濟火喜 (?-1435), the prince of Jin (Jinwang 晉王), warning the latter against establishing a private relationship with the Phag mo gru pa. The decree mentions that Jixi had sent gifts to the *chanhua wang* (i. e., Grags pa rgyal mtshan) and, prior to that, had "bartered goods" (*hushi* 互市) with the Tibetans (Xifan). The decree quotes the *Chunqiu* 春秋, the Confucian classic, to remind the prince that princes and ministers were forbidden to exchange gifts with foreigners.[144] In fact, Jixi received a warning from the emperor already in 1403. At that time, he was found to have been in touch with the Tibetans (Xifan) for

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[144] MSL 11: 1139 (Xifan Wusizang Chanhua Wang 西番烏斯藏闡化王). One should not forget that Zhu Di himself did not observe this Confucian rule when he was Prince of Yan and his intimate relationship with foreigners did contribute to his success in the war against the Jianwen emperor.

whom he even privately furnished transportations, an action forbidden by law.[145] It certainly aroused suspicion on the part of the emperor when the prince was found in 1408 to have maintained a private relationship with secular figures in Tibet. It is not at all surprising to find that in the following year Zhu Ying 朱木英 (the prince of Su or Suwang 肅王, Zhu Di's younger brother), in order to secure himself, reported to the emperor that he received but not accepted the gifts from the 'Bri gung pa.[146] Interestingly, 1408 was the year in which the Ming envoys contacted Tsong kha pa. If we are to believe the MSL entry for February 3, 1414, several princes (including Jihuang 濟熿, Jixi's younger brother) and military officers had repeatedly reported to Zhu Di that Jixi was plotting a rebellion but the emperor did not take it seriously and pardoned the prince.[147] Yet we find that on December 22, 1414 Jixi, together with his eldest son, were deprived of nobility and were basically kept under detention in the graveyard of Jin Gongwang 晉恭王 (Zhu Gang 朱棡, Zhu Di's elder brother, Jixi's father) so as to cut off Jixi's foreign contacts (*dujue waijiao* 杜絕外交).[148] This was a result

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[145] MSL 10: 443: 私以軍 <車> 遞送.

[146] MSL 11: 1195.

[147] MSL 13: 1726.

[148] MSL 13: 1802. They were released in 1427 as soon as the Xuanzong emperor found that Jixi was "falsely accused" and, instead, his younger brother Jihuang was found guilty (MSL 17: 703-704).

of the political strife among the princes. Note again that 1413-1415 saw the second invitation to Tsong kha pa and the arrival of Shākya ye shes in China. Was there any connection between Jixi's relation with Grags pa rgyal mtshan and Tsong kha pa's decline of Zhu Di's invitations? This is a question we cannot answer now for want of relatively complete and truthful records.

More questions than answers have been put forth in this chapter. Nevertheless it seems quite evident that the Yongle reign saw an important change of attitude of the Ming royal authority toward Tibetan Buddhism. During the reign of Hongwu, Tibetan Buddhism was not held by the Ming royal house as being higher than other forms of Buddhism in China. It was the Yongle emperor, whose pointed Mongolian affiliation is yet to be justly appraised, that resumed much of the "barbarian" practice of the "defeated power" (*shengguo* 勝國), namely, the Yuan Dynasty.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Post-Yongle Developments

The results of our query into traces of Tibetan Buddhism in Ming politics and culture after the Yongle era are limited by the dearth of sources to be relied on. The paucity of informative Chinese and Tibetan sources in this connection is so conspicuous that one is tempted to think that Ming interest in Tibet and Tibetan Buddhism waned away in the absence of the Yongle emperor's ambitious leadership. We hear no more of a capable eunuch-diplomat visiting Tibet after Hou Xian and Qiao Laixi. We hear no more of any high Tibetan hierarch visiting the Ming court after De bzhin gshegs pa, Kun bkras pa and Shākya ye shes. That such a decline concurred with the Ming withdrawal from the sea—Zheng He's naval expeditions were virtually terminated after 1433—seems to support the surmise that the post-Yongle Ming emperors were not as enthusiastic as Zhu Di about foreign affairs. The actual scenario, however, seems to be more complicated.

In this chapter, we shall focus on three major issues:

I. The Ming royal house and the court lamas

II. The frontier lamas

III. The Ming literati and Tibetan Buddhism

The accounts given below are pieced together from the scanty materials available and are necessarily vague. I hope that they may serve as a basis for further inquiry as more Tibetan materials become available.

4.1 The Ming Royal House and the Court Lamas

Zhu Di's successor Zhu Gaochi 朱高熾 (Renzong 仁宗, regnal title: Hongxi 洪熙) reigned for less than one year (1425). The cause of his sudden death is obscure. In fact, it is still difficult to appraise to what extent certain facts were covered up in the *shilu* for the Hongxi reign. Joseph Needham mentioned a work by Zhu Gaochi, namely, the *Tianyuan yuli xiangyi fu* 天元玉曆祥異賦, which includes descriptions and illustrations of various halo phenomena together with astrological interpretations.[1] This work was, however, not written by Zhu Gaochi himself as Needham mistakenly held. Zhu Gaochi studied the book during his youth when he attended on Emperor Taizu who paid much attention to this branch of knowledge[2] and from whom the book was bequeathed to him. The authorship of the book is as yet undetermined. Whether the observations of halos

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[1] Joseph Needham et al., *Science and Civilisation in China*, Vol. 3 ("Mathematics and the Sciences of the Heavens and the Earth"), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959, pp. 475, 483. Records of halo phenomena are also found in MSL, see MSL 17: 490 (the entry for July 29, 1426), 538 (the entry for September 19, 1426) *et passim*.

[2] MSL 15: 216.

had anything to do with Yuan Gong's sun-gazing practice[3] can hardly be ascertained for the time being.

An MSL entry for May 15, 1426 betrays that the Ming royal house's close affiliation with Buddhism and Tibetan Buddhism was to some degree a "secret" that was not to be exposed to the officials of the outer court. There we read that Feng Chun 馮春, Director of Ministry of Public Works (*Gongbu langzhong* 工部郎中), memorialized to the Xuanzong 宣宗 emperor (Zhu Zhanji 朱瞻基, regnal title: Xuande 宣德, r. 1425-1435) to reward the *guoshi*-s in Nanjing for constructing Buddhist temples. The emperor responded, "Buddhist temples are what the monks themselves built [for their own sake]. Why should the court get involved?" (佛寺，僧所自造，何預朝廷事) The emperor assumed that it was Zheng He who prompted Feng Chun to make such a proposal and he had someone sent to warn Zheng He "not to peek at the court" (*wu kuisi chaoting* 毋窺伺朝廷).[4] The eunuch Zheng He was Emperor Yongle's trusted admiral whose Buddhist ties we have mentioned in 3.4. He certainly knew more about the religious practice in the palace.

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[3] See 3.1.

[4] MSL 17: 427-428.

The reign of Xuande saw a new development in the Ming court's relation with Tibet: several Tibetan secular powers began to send representatives to reside in Beijing. The data we have are as follows:[5]

Date of Arrival	Representative of	Name of Representatives
May 4, 1430	'Bri gung pa	Bsod [nam] bkra shis 鎖扎失思
July 18, 1430	Yar 'brog 養卜魯	Bsam [gtan] bkra shis 三扎思
October 12, 1430	Phag mo gru pa	Lhun grub 孫竹
September 12, 1433	Gling tshang 靈藏	Bkra shis rgyal mtshan 劄失 監藏

It was also during the Xuande reign—that is, on July 20, 1434[6]—that Shākya ye shes was promoted to the status of *fawang* (*Daci fawang* 大慈法王).

In the reign of Zhu Qizhen 朱祁鎮, the Yingzong 英宗 emperor, the close affiliation of the Ming royal house with Buddhism became more transparent. Zhu

[5] MSL 19: 1537, 1589, 1651, 2338.

[6] MSL 21: 2491.

Qizhen reigned from 1435-1449 (regnal title: Zhengtong 正統) until he was captured by the Oirat Mongols on the battlefield. Shortly after the new emperor was enthroned, some 690 Tibetan monks were dismissed in order to curtail the number of Tibetan monks present in the capital.[7] The outer court often took the opportunity afforded by power transitions to dismiss the Tibetan monks from the capital when a new emperor was installed. However, once the emperor had consolidated his power and felt more confident, he would usually exercise his authority to increase the number of Tibetan monks in the capital. Such a process recurred during the reigns of the subsequent emperors of the Ming Dynasty.[8]

Many of the Ming eunuchs were brought up as Buddhists. The Ming emperors grew up being close to the eunuchs who were their private servants. So it was the powerful eunuch Wang Zhen 王振 (d. 1449) who prompted the Yingzong emperor to have the Daxinglongsi 大興隆寺 constructed[9] and the eunuch Xing'an 興安 who built the Dalongfusi 大隆福寺.[10] These two were the

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[7] MSL 22: 59.

[8] Even the Wuzong emperor (the most fervent patron of Tibetan Buddhism among the Ming emperors), at the beginning of his rule, had to reduce the number of Tibetan monks at the court. The persecution, to be sure, was of temporary nature.

[9] MS: 4457. One of the emperor's eunuchs bore the name Bo'ergan 跛兒干 which seems to be Mo. *burqan* "Buddha".

[10] MS: 4458.

royal monasteries in the capital or, as they were known at that time, *chaoting xianghuoyuan* 朝廷香火院. Monasteries such as these also served eunuchs who were sent to carry out various errands outside the court.[11] Another ranking eunuch in this period that should be mentioned here is Wang Jin 王瑾. Wang revered Dpal ldan bkra shis 班丹札釋, who was entitled *Xitian fozi daguoshi* 西天佛子大國師 ("the Grand State Preceptor, the Buddha's Son of India") by the Ming court, and had compiled a genealogical record of the latter's family. The text entitled *Xitian fozi yuanliu lu* 西天佛子源流錄 (*Record of the Genealogy* [*yuanliu*, lit., "the source and the tributaries"] *of the Buddha's Son of India*) and is known to us through its preface which is preserved in the collected writings of the fifteenth-century scholar Chen Xun.[12] According to Chen Xun, the Ming Dynasty honored and promoted the teaching of Buddha (聖朝崇獎佛氏之教) for the welfare of the state and the people. For, in Buddhism, "nature" is defined by "compassion and expedient means" (以慈悲方便爲性), "benevolenece" by "what is to benefit the sentient beings" (以利益有情爲惠), "loyalty" by "warning and guiding those who go astray" (以警導迷誤爲忠), "attainment" by "not setting apart you and I" (以無間人我爲得) and, furthermore, "great friendship" is defined by "the submission to the Central Land (i.e., China)" while

[11] Lu Rong, *Shuyuan zaji*, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1985, p. 59.

[12] Chen Xun 陳循, *Fangzhou wenji xubian* 芳洲文集續編 (*Xuxiu Siku quanshu* 1328), p. 45.

"great merit" is defined by "praying for blessing for the [Chinese] emperor and the protection of the people" (以皈嚮中土爲大知識，祝聖保民爲大功德). Because Dpal ldan bkra shis was precisely the one who had fulfilled all the virtues listed above, he was honored by the Ming emperors Yongle, Xuanzong and Yingzong, and this had contributed to the flourishing of his family (益源而助流, lit., "enrich the source and help [to extend the reaches of] the tributaries"). The political implications of this preface are obvious. I have not been able to locate the genealogical record which, presumably, was based on a Tibetan version. The preface also mentions that the ancestor of Dpal ldan bkra shis was a native of Sandie 三疊 (?) of the country of Bote 波忒國 (Tib. Bod "Tibet")[13] and that Dpal ldan bkra shis's great-grandfather was Abochi 阿波赤 (Mo. *abuyči* "taker"?) who was *duyuanshuai* 都元帥 under the Yuan. The eldest among Abochi's five sons was Bkra shis dpal (Zhashiba 札釋巴). Three of Bkra shis dpal's eighteen sons were Buddhist monks, one became *guoshi* under the Yuan, the other two became the abbot of the monastery of Xiangfusi 祥符寺 in Wutaishan and of the Jixiangsi 吉祥寺 in Lintao 臨洮 respectively. Dpal ldan bkra shis was the fourth son of Bzang po dpal (Zangbuba 藏卜巴) and Lady Bao (Baoshi 包氏). It is notable that Dpal ldan bkra shis's mother was Han Chinese.

[13] To my knowledge, this is the only instance where Bod, the Tibetan name for Tibet, is transcribed in Chinese in the Ming period. I am unable to identify the place-name Sandie.

Zhu Qiyu 朱祁鈺 reigned from 1449-1457 (regnal title: Jingtai 景泰). He conferred on Dpal ldan bkra shis the title of *Dazhi Fawang* 大智法王 [14] and a certain Shākya (Shajia 沙加) the title of *Daxi Fawang* 大喜法王.[15] It was said that during his reign, there were tens of thousands of people being granted monkhood every three years[16], which means that a greater number of monks were permitted by the court. In BD: 199, we find Zhu Qiyu called *'jam dbyangs gong ma rgyal po kyen tha'i* "His Highness, the Mañjughoṣa emperor, Jingtai". RB: 117 informs us that the *gyin thas rgyal po* (the Jingtai emperor) was well-versed in esoteric teachings such as *kye rdor*, *'jigs byed* etc., and that this was according to what was told by a certain Slob dpon Byis ston of Ri zhing pa who had an audience with the emperor while paying horse-tribute to the Ming court.[17] I am unable to find this Byis ston in other Tibetan writings.

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[14] See Chen Nan 陳楠, "Dazhi Fawang kao 大智法王考", in *Zhongguo Zangxue* 中國藏學 4 (1996), pp. 68-83.

[15] MSL 35: 5683.

[16] XYWJL 1948b: 景泰間，三年一度僧數萬.

[17] *gyin thas rgyal po khri thog tu phebs/ da lo khyi lo 'di yan la lo lnga song/ rgyal po 'di/ yang bla ma'i mkhan chung mdzad/ kye rdo 'jigs byed sogs gsang sngags kyi chos la mkhas/ bstan pa la mos zer ba/ ri zhing pa'i slob dpon byis ston gyis/ rta 'bul lang phyin gong ma dang mjal ba'i lo rgyus yin/*

Emperor Yingzong succeeded in a political comeback in 1457, deposing his younger brother and assuming the regnal title of Tianshun 天順 (1457-1464). Although he remained a Buddhist, this time, he degraded the *fawang*-s to *daguoshi*-s and the *daguoshi*-s to *guoshi*-s, merely to nullify what his younger brother had done during his detention in Mongolia.[18]

Yingzong's son Zhu Jianshen 朱見深, the Xianzong 憲宗 emperor (regnal title: Chenghua 成化, r. 1464-1487), was a fervent practitioner of Tibetan Buddhism. Tibetan lamas enjoyed various privileges and were often admitted to the inner court. The eunuchs prostrated themselves before the lamas whenever meeting with them. The emperor was surrounded by the Tibetan lamas headed by the *Dawu Fawang* 大悟法王 Grags pa rgyal mtshan 劄巴堅參 and the *Daying Fawang* 大應法王 Bkra shis dpal 劄實巴.[19] The scene was very likely much similar to that of the "barbarian" Yuan court. When the outer court complained that the Tibetan monks and Tibetan Buddhism had "polluted" China (*wuran Huaxia* 汙染華夏), the emperor argued that Tibetan monks had been present in China since the reigns of his forefathers (*zuzong* 祖宗, the emperors Taizu and Taizong) and that to dismiss them would mean to "lose the hearts of those

[18] MS: 8578.

[19] MSL 41: 1077, MSL 44: 2272, MSL 44: 2406.

staying afar" (*shi yuanren zhi xin* 失遠人之心)[20], that is, to lose the support of the Tibetans. When an officer questioned the emperor in a memorial whether His Majesty would prefer losing the hearts of those staying afar rather than to lose the hearts of those staying nearby (*erren* 邇人, that is, those in the country including the Chinese officers), the emperor gave no response to it (*bu bao* 不報).[21] This is understandable since the practice of Buddhism was the deep-rooted custom within the Zhu family. The emperor's mother, Empress Xiaosu (Xiaosu Huanghou 孝肅皇后), was herself a Buddhist devotee. She had the Da Cirensi 大慈仁寺 constructed in Beijing for her younger brother, the Buddhist monk Jixiang 吉祥 (Tib. *Dpal*). It was said that Empress Xiaosu and Emperor Yingzong had the same dream that led to the empress' reunion with her brother with whom she had lost contact for many years. Two epigraphs for the founding of the monastery were written by Emperor Xianzong at the behest of his mother.[22]

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[20] MSL 41: 1187.

[21] MSL 41: 1195.

[22] *Zeng Da Ciren Si zuo fangzhang zhuchi Yu shangren xu* 贈大慈仁寺左方丈住持宇上人序 (Gui Youguang, *Zhenchuan Xianhseng ji*, Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chunbanshe, 1981, pp. 272-3).

The most notorious monk during the reign of Chenghua was the Chinese *guoshi* Li Jixiao 李繼曉 who was known as "the evil monk" (*yaoseng* 妖僧). With the support of the eunuch Liang Fang 梁芳 and the concubine Wan Guifei 萬貴妃, Jixiao interfered in state politics and tortured the Confucian officers who advised the emperor to dismiss him. The conflict between the Confucian officers and Buddhist monks reached its climax at this time. After Xianzong's death, the outer court took immediate action and had Jixiao executed.[23] The execution of Jixiao caused a number of Tibetan monks to lose their foothold in the capital. A certain Karma pa fled to Yunnan but was arrested by the Grand Coordinator (*xunfu* 巡撫) Zhang Jie 張詰. Initially, the Karma pa was famous among the people in Menghua 蒙化, Yunnan, for his skill of sucking water into his belly and releasing it again from mouth and for his remarkable habit of sitting still for the whole day and eating only sesame dough (*mahua* 麻花). Emperor Xianzong heard of him and invited him to practise meditation in the capital. With the death of the emperor and the execution of Jixiao, his meditation was interrupted and he was finally detained in Yunnan in the summertime, fed with the seeds of *croton tiglium* (*badou* 巴豆), and exposed to the heat of a furnace. He died in a few days.[24] This was one of the episodes of the persecution of Tibetan Buddhism that

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[23] MS: 4933, 4941, 5136, 7777, 7781, 7882-7885.

[24] Xie Zhaozhe 謝肇淛, *Dian lue* 滇略 (*Siku quanshu* edition), 10: 18.

took place shortly after the death of Emperor Xianzong. The hostility of the Chinese officers towards the Tibetan monks was partly due to the very fact that Emperor Xianzong's sudden death was closely related to taking pills offered by the eunuchs who were close to the Tibetan lamas such as Rin chen grub (Lingzhanzhu 領占竹), Grags pa rgyal mtshan (Zhabajiancan 扎巴堅參), Shijiaya'erda 釋迦啞兒答 (釋迦 = Shākya; 啞兒答 = ?) and Chos dpal rin chen (Zhuqie [pronounced *zhuopa*] lingzhan 著肐領占) etc.[25]

When Xianzong's successor Zhu Youtang 朱祐樘, Emperor Xiaozong 孝宗 (regnal title: Hongzhi 弘治, r. 1487-1505), was enthroned, it was reported that 789 lamas (probably including Chinese who practiced Tibetan Buddhism), 120 Chinese monks and 123 Taoist priests were present in major temples in the imperial city and they were either demoted or expelled.[26] The fact that Tibetan

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[25] MSL 51: 28. There are various kinds of pills (Tib. *ril bu*) related to ritualistic practices in Tibetan Buddhism. Chinese sources give no details in this connection, so we do not know what sort of practices the Chenghua emperor was particularly interested in.

A poem satirizing Grags pa rgyal mtshan was attributed to the Taoist mystic Zhang Sanfeng 張三丰 who had allegedly taught the conceited Tibetan monk a lesson, see Fang Chunyang ed., *Zhang Sanfeng quanji* 張三丰全集, Hangzhou: Zhejiang Guji Chubanshe, 1990, p. 338. This account reflects the conflicts between the Taoist priests and the Tibetan monks in the Ming capital city prior to the persecution of Tibetan Buddhism by the Taoist emperor, Shizong.

[26] MS: 7885. See also MSL 51: 56-57.

monks greatly outnumbered Chinese monks and Taoist priests is particularly noteworthy.

According to MS, an old eunuch by the name of Tanji 覃吉 did much in guiding Zhu Youtang to the right path of Confucian rulership when Zhu was young:

> 太子偶從內侍讀佛書，吉入，太子驚曰："老伴來矣！"亟手孝經，吉跪曰："太子誦佛書乎？"曰："無有，孝經耳。"吉頓首曰："甚善！佛書誕，不可信也。"[27]
>
> The *taizi* (crown prince) happened to be reading a Buddhist text with a eunuch. When Tanji was coming, the *taizi* panicked, "The old attendant is coming!" He hurriedly grabbed the *Xiao jing* (*The Classic of Filial Piety*). Tanji [came in,] prostrated himself and said: "*Taizi*, are you reciting a Buddhist text?" The *taizi* answered: "No, I was just reading the *Xiao jing*." Tanji kowtowed and said: "Very good! Buddhist texts tell absurd things. Do not believe in them."

From this vivid narrative, we can see that Buddhism had a stronger appeal than Confucianism for Emperor Xiaozong since his early years.

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[27] MS: 7778.

In 1493, Rin chen grub, who had been expelled to Sichuan, was summoned to the court again. The Confucian officers strongly objected to it and urged the emperor not to spoil the much welcomed policies carried out in the early years of his emperorship which had been regarded by the people as a sign of his "supreme virtues". The emperor had to agree that postal stations had no obligations to furnish provisions and transportation for Rin chen grub but he still wanted to meet with the lama on the condition that the lama should travel by his own transportation.[28] Objections did not cease, and some even urged the emperor to execute Rin chen grub immediately, to the extent that the emperor was forced to give this plan up.[29] In 1496 the emperor promoted Grags pa rgyal mtshan and Shijiaya'erda again.[30] In 1502, the emperor intended to install Rin chen grub in the Da Ci'ensi in the capital but objections ensued.[31] In the same year, the emperor ordered the Confucian officers to write, on his behalf, a eulogy to the portrait of Shijiaya'erda. The officers admonished the emperor and compelled him to have the order withdrawn.[32] Obviously, the emperor maintained a

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[28] MSL 54: 1523, 1531.

[29] MSL 54: 1537.

[30] MSL 55: 1975.

[31] MSL 59: 3434, 3471.

[32] MSL 59: 3483.

personal interest and faith in Tibetan Buddhism. He did not behave like his father due to the greater pressure he received from the outer court. KK: 676 mentions several Tibetan monks favored by the *hung ji rgyal po* (the Hongzhi emperor) such as *ta'i go'i shri* (< *daguoshi*) Chos rje skyabs, *kvan ting go'i shri* (< *guanding guoshi*) Rdza dge, *gyog yi* (< *jueyi* 覺義) Sangs rgyas bzang po, *du khang* (< *dugang* 都綱) Bzang po rgyal mtshan etc., all of whom I failed to locate in the MSL.

Emperor Xiaozong was succeeded by Zhu Houzhao 朱厚照, the notorious Emperor Wuzong 武宗 (regnal title: Zhengde 正德, r. 1505-1520). He was the most fervent practitioner of Tibetan Buddhism among the Ming emperors even though he seems to have been primarily a Muslim. Of him, the reader is referred to Satō 1961 and Toh 2000. Here, I would like to address two further curious issues related to this singular monarch.

The first issue concerns the *Daqing Fawang* 大慶法王, the title proclaimed by Emperor Wuzong for himself but which was borne at the same time by the Tibetan monk Rin chen dpal ldan.[33] There is little doubt that there was a

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[33] MS: 4885. MSL 66: 2172. The emperor's Tibetan name was also Rin chen dpal ldan, see my *Shaykh 'Âlam: the Emperor of Early Sixteenth-Century China* (*Sino-Platonic Papers* 110), Philadelphia: AMES, UPenn, 2000, pp. 6-7.

The presence of Islam and Tibetan Buddhism side by side was found already in thirteenth-century Persia. The Persian court historian Abdullah Wassaf recorded that the paper money (modeled on the Chinese paper currency) issued during the reign of the Ilkhan Gaikhatu (r. 1291-1295) bore the Islamic creed "There is no god except Allah and Muhammad is a messenger of Allah" as well as a Tibetan name "Rin chen rdo rje". To cite

duplication of this *fawang*. But how could this happen? The most probable explanation for this is that the emperor had a substitute for himself to become a monastic member or, as it is known in Tibetan, a *grwa tshab*. This would suggest that the Ming emperor followed the custom practised by the Mongol emperors of the Yuan Dynasty—for instance, the well-known Uyghur translator Prajñāśrī (Bilannashili 必蘭納識理) was the *grwa tshab* of Temür (Öljei-tü Qaγan or Emperor Chengzong 成宗, r. 1294-1307).[34] This was something that the Ming emperors had to keep secret and, as such, has not been fully recognized by historians. As we shall see in the case of the Wanli emperor below, this custom was observed within the Ming royal familiy.

The second issue is no less puzzling at first blush. This has to do with the precious information provided by Shen Defu 沈德符 (1578-1642):

Aly Mazahéri: C'était, note Wassâf, un rectangle de papier portant des caractères chinois. En haut, des deux côtes: les formules ordinaires de toute monnaie: "il n'y a d'autre dieu qu'Allah" et "Mohammet est le Mandataire d'Allah". Plus bas en (caractères thibétains): Rin c'en rdo rje et en caractères arabes *Ayrynhyn twrjy*, la nom de baptême (?) lamaïste de l'Ilkhan Gikhâtu, nom qui lui avait été donné par son confesseur, un lama thibétain! (*La route de la soie*, Paris: S.P.A.G. [Papyrus], 1983, p. 266)

[34] YS: 4519-20.

[35] Shen Defu, *Yehuo bian buyi* 野獲編補遺 (*Xuxiu Siku quanshu* 續修四庫全書 1174), 1: 46-47.

武宗初年選內臣俊美者以充寵倖，名曰“老兒當”，猶云等輩也。時皆用年少者，而曰“老兒”，蓋反言之。其後又有“金剛老而當”，其人皆用事大璫，如張忠輩皆在其中，則見之彈章者，此則不得其解矣。正德末年，京城內建造鎮國府及老兒院等大工，蓋又與至尊竝列，俱嘉靖初年拆毀。[35]

In the early years of the reign of Emperor Wuzong, handsome lads among the eunuchs (*neichen*) were selected to serve the emperor as his intimate retainers. [This group of retainers were] named *Lao'erdang* which means something like "the same-age peers". All those employed at that time were youths but were called *lao'er* (lit., "old fellows") which seems to be an ironic name. Later, there was also [a group called] *Jingang lao'erdang*. Those [belonged to this group] were all powerful senior eunuchs (*dadang*) including such figures as Zhang Zhong etc. as witnessed in the impeachment documents [of that time]. This [name] is, however, incomprehensible. Towards the end of the reign of Zhengde, there were huge projects of constructing the Mansion of Duke of State Defense and the House of Lao'er[dang]. That is to

> say, [the Lao'erdang] was placed side by side with His Majesty.[36]
> Both [the buildings] were torn down in the early Jiajing period.

The title *lao'erdang* can be restored to Tibetan *na ldangs* (*na* "age"), the variants of which are *ne'u ldangs* and *ne ldangs* "same-age peers" (compare *nal zla* "of equal age" and *ne'u zla* "id.").[37] There is no difficulty, both phonetically and semantically, in reaching this conclusion. But what about the *jingang lao'erdang*? It is well known that Wuzong was knowledgeable in the Tibetan language and tantric formulas. He even performed initiatory rites in the palace.[38] Besides being an Islamic *sheikh*, he seems to have regarded himself as a *rdo rje slob dpon* too. The term *jingang* "diamond" (Sanskrit *vajra*, Tibetan *rdo rje*) in the *jingang lao'erdang* might not be a transcription of a foreign sound but, more likely, was

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[36] The Wuzong emperor enfeoffed himself Duke of State Defense (鎮國公 Zhenguo Gong). Wuzong preferred being known as a Chinese *gong* 公 "duke", a *da jiangjun* 大將軍 "grand general", a Mongolian *taisi*, a Persian *shaykh*, a Tibetan *chos kyi rgyal po* etc., see Toh, *Shaykh 'Âlam*, pp. 2-10.

[37] Btsan lha Ngag dbang tshul khrims, *Brda dkrol gser gyi me long*, Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1997, pp. 399, 401; Zhang Yisun et al., *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo* (*Zang-Han da cidian*), Chengdu: Mi rig dpe skrun khang (Minzu Chubanshe), 1993, p. 1529; Sarat Chandra Das, *A Tibetan-English Dictionary* (*Tshig gi gter mdzod*), Calcutta: The Bengal Secretariat Book Depôt, 1902, p. 743.

[38] See Toh, *Shaykh 'Âlam*, pp. 2, 3, 13.

related to the Rdo rje'i theg pa or Vajrayāna "Diamond Vehicle". We thus solved at least part of the conundrum that puzzled the Ming writer.

It is quite surprising that Wuzong, being such a Tibetophile, is rarely mentioned in Tibetan historical writings. Given the present stage of the studies of the Tibetan ties of the Ming royal house, we are not yet able to offer any significant explanation for this.

Wuzong's successor was his cousin Zhu Houcong 朱厚熜, the Shizong 世宗 emperor (regnal title: Jiajing 嘉靖, r. 1521-1566).

Shizong, who reigned much longer than his immediate predecessor, was such a fervent patron and practitioner of Taoism that, under his rule, Buddhism was relentlessly persecuted in the palace. A sixteenth-century scholar-official wrote:

> 先是，禁中有大善佛殿，內供金銀佛像，并金銀函貯佛骨、佛頭、佛牙等物。上既敕廷臣議撤佛殿，即其地建皇太后宮，是日，命侯郭勛、大學士李時、尙書夏言入視殿址。於是尙書言請敕有司以佛骨等瘞之中野，以杜愚冥之惑。上曰："朕思：此物聽之者，智曰邪穢，必不欲觀，愚曰奇異，必欲尊奉。今雖埋之，將來豈無竊發以惑民者？可議所以永除之。"於是部議請投之火，上從之，乃燔于通衢。

按：是舉乃世廟度越千古之見。顧其平生祇好道，不好佛，亦其天性也。[39]

Previously, there was in the forbidden palace a Buddhist temple [called the Hall of] Dashan ("Great Goodness") which housed the Buddha's golden and silver statues as well as the Buddha's bone, skull, teeth etc. kept in golden and silver cases. His Majesty (i.e., Emperor Shizong) decreed [the outer court] to discuss the destruction of the temple which was to be replaced by a [new] mansion for the Empress Dowager. The Marquis (*Hou*) Guo Xun, the Grand Secretariat (*Da Xueshi*) Li Shi, and the Superintendent [of the Board of Rites] ([*Libu* 禮部] *Shangshu* 尙書) Xia Yan were ordered to enter [the palace] and examine the compound on that same day. Xia Yan proposed to have the Buddha's relics buried in an open field so as to eradicate [all] confusions caused by "[religious] follies".[40] His Majesty said [in

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[39] Xu Xuemo 徐學謨 (1522-1593), *Shimiao zhiyu lu* 世廟識餘錄 (*Beijing Tushuguan zhenben congkan* 北京圖書館古籍珍本叢刊 13), Beijing: Shumu Wenxian Chubanshe, 1988, 8: 5.

[40] Xia Yan memorialized in 1536 that the religious objects in the Hall of Great Goodness "mostly present barbarian ghosts in indecent postures" (多夷鬼淫褻之狀). Xia Yan also pointed out that those objects belonged to the Yuan legacy and that all the Ming emperors

the rescript]: "I think that if we let these objects remain there, the wise people will find them disgusting and will certainly object to see them, whereas the foolish people will find them extraordinary and, certainly, will desire to worship them. Even if we bury them now, who knows there will not be someone in the future who may secretly excavate them to confuse the commonfolk [again]? You [Members of the Board of Rites] should discuss [and come up with] a method to do away with them once and for all." Therefore the Board [of Rites] proposed to cast them into fire. His Majesty approved of it. So they were burnt on a thoroughfare [in the capital city].

[Xu Xuemo's] note: This action showed Emperor Shizong's view which surpassed those of many others in a millennium.

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before Jiajing (excluding Taizu since it was Emperor Yongle who moved from the Nanjing palace to the Beijing palace) did not bother to inquire into the nature of the foreign practice and, as such, had allowed them to stay in the palace for so long (未必非勝國所遺，累朝以來亦必以爲彼法則然，未嘗深究，以延至今)—see Zhang Xuan 張萱, *Xiyuan wenjianlu* 西園聞見錄, Beijing: Quanguo Tushuguan Wenxian Suowei Fuzhi Zhongxin, 1996, 105: 16-17. These prudent remarks of the Chinese officer betray that the Ming emperors had inherited the "foreign" religious practice—Tibetan Buddhism—from the Mongols.

> However, throughout his life, he was only fond of Taoism but never Buddhism. Perhaps he was born to be so.

It was also during Shizong's reign (in October 1563) that the Ming court stopped deputing the so-called *jingsi fanseng* 京寺番僧 (Tibetan monks who were stationed in the monasteries in Beijing) to confer titles and gifts on religious and secular figures in various Tibetan regions (*zhuzang* 諸藏).[41]

Records of Tibetan monks become remarkably sparse in the MSL after the persecution of Tibetan Buddhism during the Jiajing reign. It is for this reason that the *Mingshi* states that "since then, Tibetan monks seldom came to China".[42] Nevertheless, one can still find evidence in non-official records that there were still Tibetan monks traveling to China or even to the Ming court in post-Jiajing

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[41] MSL 90: 8576. Zhuzang "those various *Zang*-s" included Wusi-Zang 烏斯藏 (Dbus-Gtsang), Sidazang 思答藏 (Stag tshang), Lingzang 靈藏 (Gling tshang) etc. Towards the end of the Ming Dynasty, they were also known as *the Western Zang-s* (Xizang 西藏) as evidenced in MSL 98: 859 which has escaped the notice of Kam Tak-Sing who, following Chen Qingying, took 1663 as the year during which the term *Xizang* first appeared in writing, see Kam Tak-Sing, "The Dge lugs pa breakthrough: the Uluk Darxan Nangsu Lama's Mission to the Manchus", *Central Asiatic Journal* 44 (2000), p. 172. The term *Xizang* became fixed in Qing times and was translated into Manchu simply as *wargi dzang* (*wargi* "west"). *Xizang* is the Chinese name for Tibet that has been in use up to the present day.

[42] MS: 8575: 世宗立，復汰番僧，法王以下悉被斥。 後世宗崇道教，益黜浮 屠，自是番僧鮮至中國者。

times.[43] Therefore we may reason that either (i) there were changes in the guidelines for the compilation of MSL to the extent that records on Tibetan monks were regarded as not important and not included, or, (ii) there were Tibetan monks who traveled to China but their number was greatly reduced.

The MSL mentions no personal affiliation with Buddhism for either Zhu Zaihou 朱載垕 (Emperor Muzong 穆宗, regnal title: Longqing 隆慶, r. 1567-1572) or Zhu Yijun 朱翊鈞 (Emperor Shenzong 神宗, regnal title: Wanli 萬曆, r. 1572-1620). Nevertheless, thanks to Zhang Juzheng 張居正 (1525-1582), the powerful state regent and chief minister in the Wanli era, we learn the following very important fact. Zhang writes:

[43] Cf. 3.1 and 4.3 below. Shen Defu 沈德符, who was aware of the fact that Dbus-Gtsang was pronounced [y tsaŋ] by the Tibetans (烏思藏，彼國止稱烏藏), writes in the *Yehuo bian buyi* 野獲編補遺 30: 33-34: … …多經典，如楞伽經至萬卷。此皆郭青螺司馬所紀，即得于烏思藏僧蔣觸匝巴者... …以萬曆三十年入貢，因留中國。 "[There are in Dbus-Gtsang] many scriptures. For instance, the version of the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* [preserved there] is up to a myriad volumes. All this is based on the record of the Vice-Prefect Guo Qingluo who obtained the information from the monk from Dbus-Gtsang (*Wusi-Zang seng*), Byang chub grags pa (Jiangchuzaba) [… …], who paid tribute to the court in the 30th year of Wanli (1602) and has, since then, remained in China."

> 皇朝凡皇太子、諸王生，率剃度幼童一人爲僧，名替度，雖非雅制，而宮中率沿以爲常。皇上替僧名志善。[44]
>
> In the imperial dynasty (i.e., the Ming Dynasty), whenever a crown prince or a prince is born, invariably, a young boy should be tonsured [on behalf of him]. This is known as *tidu* ("tonsured on one's behalf"). Although this is not an elegant custom, it has however been observed traditionally as a usual practice in the palace. The name of His Majesty's (i.e., the Wanli emperor's) *tiseng* ("surrogate monk, vicarious monk") is Zhishan.

This was the "barbarian" custom inherited from the Mongol Yuan dynasty. Zhang Juzheng was a Confucian scholar-official who was knowledgeable in Buddhism as well. Being the most powerful statesman of his time, he was also the target of criticisms and, to refute charges that he abused his power, he professed that his motto was these two lines:

> 願以深心奉塵刹，不於自身求利益。[45]

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[44] *Chijian Cheng'en Si beiwen* 敕建承恩寺碑文 (Zhang Juzheng, *Zhang Taiyue ji*, Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 1984, p. 146b); cf. Liang Zhangju 梁章鉅, *Chengwei lu* 稱謂錄, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1996, p. 486.

[45] Zhang Juzheng, *Zhang Taiyue ji*, p. 296b. This was patterned after the famous *Lengyan* 楞嚴 prayer.

May I devote my profound intention for the sake of those in the Buddha-fields (referring, in the present context, to the people of the whole country) that are as many as the number of atoms and [let me] seek no benefit for my own self.

The Ming inscription of the *Sishi'erzhang jing* (*The Scripture of Fourty-Two Chapters*) at the Bore Tai 般若臺 of the Sheshan 攝山 mountain in Nanjing comprises fourty-three sections (the fourty-two chapters plus the heading) representing the calligraphy of fourty-three scholars headed by none other than Zhang Juzheng.[46] Both Zhang Juzheng and Empress Dowager Li (Li Taihou 李太后) ruled the empire before Emperor Wanli assumed power. The Empress Dowager or the Holy Mother (*shengmu* 聖母) was known within the palace as the Nine Lotus[47] Bodhisattva (Jiulian Pusa 九蓮菩薩)[48]. There is little doubt that the Avalokiteśvara cult was current at the Wanli court. The emperor's concubine Zheng Guifei 鄭貴妃 copied the *Guanshiyin Pusa pumen pin* 觀世音菩薩普門

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[46] Gan Xi 甘熙, *Baixia suoyan* 白下瑣言, Taibei: Guangwen Shuju, 1970, 10: 8b-9a (明人集書四十二章經).

[47] Perhaps, more precisely, "nine-grade lotuses" (*jiupin lianhua* 九品蓮華).

[48] MS: 3659.

品 , the widely recited chapter on Avalokiteśvara extracted from the *Saddharmapundarika-sūtra*, with golden ink to pray for the emperor's longevity.[49] We also learn from non-official sources that the Empress Dowager invited lamas to the court to perform tantric rituals.[50]

Zhu Changluo 朱常洛, the Guangzong 光宗 emperor, reigned for one month only and was succeeded by Zhu Youjiao 朱由校, the Xizong 熹宗 emperor (regnal title: Tianqi 天啓, r. 1620-1627). The last emperor of the Ming was Xizong's younger brother Zhu Youjian 朱由檢 (the Zhuanglie emperor 莊烈帝, regnal title: Chongzhen 崇禎, r. 1628-1644). The Chongzhen reign suffered from the external threat of the Manchus and the internal threat of the large-scaled peasant upheavals which eventually brought the dynasty to collapse. In 1641, on the eve of the downfall of the dynasty, the emperor sent the royal relative Tian

[49] Zhang Xuecheng 章學誠, *Bingchen zhaji* 丙辰劄記, in *Zhangshi yishu* 章氏遺書, Taibei: Hansheng Chubanshe, 1973, *juan* 22, p. 30: 厲樊榭集有明鄭貴妃泥金書普門品經，卷首題云："大明萬曆甲辰年十二月吉日，皇貴妃鄭謹發誠心，沐手親書觀世音菩薩普門品經一卷，恭祝今上聖主，祈願萬萬壽，洪福永享，康泰安裕，吉祥。" 甲辰萬曆三十二年也。按鄭貴妃生於隆慶二年戊辰，至是年三十七 。

[50] See 4.3 below.

Hongyu 田弘遇 to Putuoshan to pray to Avalokiteśvara on his behalf, hoping to save the dynasty from the disasters.[51]

[51] Qian Qianyi 錢謙益, *Tiantong Miyun Chanshi Wugong taming* 天童密雲禪師悟公塔銘, in *Muzhai youxue ji* 牧齋有學集, Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 1996, *juan* 36, p. 1256. For the sacred island, see 3.1. One is reminded again that Avalokiteśvara cult had a place in political and military struggles in the Ming period. Hence we read the following in the letter from a Chinese defector (Ts'ui Ing Ši) to the two Manchu military leaders, Hošoi Mergen Cin Wang (Dorgon 多爾袞) and Hošoi Erke Cin Wang (Dodo 多鐸), in 1636:

> *[... ...] guwan yen pusa sinde aisilame han tembi, [... ...] guwan yen pusa tugi de tuwabume den jilgan i sure han seme hûlame, meni gurun i unenggi doron be sinde benehe be, si kemuni ulhirakû, cung jeng ni hûturi wajifi doro dubehe, si tucifi ejelere giyan, abka cahar be takûrafi sinde unenggi doron be benere de, guwan yen pusa, mile pusa, geren fucihi enduri gemu aisilame abkai fejergi be ejelere doron be benehe, tere udu tumen cooha beging de dosikangge ja gûnici ojorakû, guwan ši yen pusa sini amba cooha be jase dosimbure be si ainambahafi sambi, [... ...] fucihi hendume, amba aisin be guwan yen pusa aisilame jalan de ilifi abkai fejergi be sure han aitubumbi [... ...]* (MWLD 7: 1319-1328).
>
> Guwan Yen Pusa (Guanyin Pusa 觀音菩薩, Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara) assists you to become the *han*. [... ...] Guwan Yen Pusa appeared in the clouds, exclaiming, "Sure Han!" [And] the true seal of our state was sent to you. [But] you still do not realize that. Cung Jeng's (Chongzhen) fortune and mandate have ended and you should come forth to rule. When Heaven dispatched Čahar to send the true seal to you, Guwan Yen Pusa, Mile Pusa (Maitreya), the various buddhas and deities, all offered [you] assistance, and the seal for ruling the world was sent [to you]. Do not think that it was easy for your several myriads of soldiers to enter Beging (Beijing). How would you be able to comprehend that it was Guwan Ši Yen Pusa (Guanshiyin Pusa 觀世音菩薩, i.e., Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara) who

It is therefore tempting to see Avalokiteśvara as the protective deity of the Ming royal house. The Avalokiteśvara cult within the Ming royal house could be traced back at least to the Yongle emperor who revered the fifth Karma pa as his teacher.[52]

4.2 The Frontier Lamas

A very remarkable phenomenon in the post-Yongle period was that the Mongols, the Manchus and the Ming sent lamas as diplomats or spies among themselves. The lamas were often non-Tibetan.

It must be pointed out, however, that non-Tibetan monks were already found to be involved in diplomatic activities in the Yongle period.[53] For instance: (1) In April 1407, the "Tatar monk" (*Dadaseng* 韃靼僧)[54] Eryichiye'erjini'erhui 耳亦赤也兒吉你兒灰 came to the Ming court.[55] It seems that *eryichi* = Mo. *elči*

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allowed your great army to cross the border? [... ...] The Buddha said: "Guwan Yen Pusa, having helped the Great Aisin to establish the [new] era, will have Sure Han restore the world [order]." [... ...]

[52] See 3.2 and 3.3.

[53] Note also that as early as in the Hongwu period, Buddhist monks were sent as diplomats between China and Japan, see 2.3.

[54] In the early Ming period, the Chinese referred to the Mongolian successors of the former Yuan regime as "Tatar" while the Oirats (Wala 瓦剌) were called Lu 虜. A Tatar monk was therefore a monk from the "Tatar" Mongols.

("envoy"), *ye'erjini'erhui* = Mo. *erkin nayir[a]γui* (*erkin* "venerable", *nayiraγu* "harmonious"). If this be the case, the nine Chinese characters should mean "the ambassador Ven. Nayirγui". In December of the same year, Eryichi and a certain Ba'ersi 八兒思 paid horse-tribute to the court. Eryichi refers to the same *elči* or envoy whereas Ba'ersi can be restored to Bars ("tiger"). The two Mongolian monks bore the title of *Jingxiu sanzang guoshi* 淨修三藏國師 and *Jingjie sanzang guoshi* 淨戒三藏國師 respectively.[56] Eryichi was the teacher of the Tatar qan Guilichi 鬼力赤 (Mo. *γuyilinči* "mendicant"?). The Yongle emperor suspected that (i) Guilichi intended to transfer his relatives to the south (close to the Chinese frontier) before his army marched westwards to fight the Oirats. Eryichi's mission aimed to divert the attention of the Chinese so that Guilichi's people would not be attacked by the Ming troops on the Sino-Mongolian frontier; (ii) Guilichi intended to side with the Ming (to fight the Oirats) but was not resolute. Therefore he sent Eryichi to spy on the actual situation of the Ming. Owing to this, the emperor ordered He Fu 何福, the Ningxia 寧夏 commander, to escort Eryichi (as well as keeping him under surveillance).[57]

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[55] MSL 11: 919.

[56] MSL 11: 1023.

[57] MSL 11: 921.

(2) A lama by the name Don grub rin chen (Duanzhulingzhan 端竹領占) was sent as a diplomat to Tibet several times in the fourth year of Yongle (1407). He was a native of Didao 狄道, Shaanxi, and was originally from the Shi 石 clan.[58]

In the post-Yongle period, there were lamas directly involved in military activities.

In 1440, the "Tibetan monk" (*fanseng*) Sangs rgyas seng ge (Sang'erzhexianjie 桑兒者先結) was appointed *dugang* and his disciple Chang Heshang 長和尚 was appointed *lama* because they had made secret reports to the Ming court concerning the frontier situation.[59] In April 1445, the lama 剌麻 Shangsilong 賞思隆 (Drang srong?) was appointed *chanshi* 禪師 because of his profound knowledge of Buddhism and his having done many good services on the Sino-Mongolian frontiers.[60] The lama was promoted again in May because of

[58] *Shaanxi tongzhi* 陝西通志 cited in the *Gujin tushu jicheng* 古今圖書集成, *shenyi dian* 神異典, *juan* 190, Book 504, 59A.

[59] MSL 25: 1335: 密報邊情. Heshang was a name found quite frequently among the Mongols in that period.

[60] MSL 28: 2541: 在邊累效勞力，又深曉佛法.

the merits he obtained during the campaign against the Huihui 回回 (Sartaγul) people.[61]

The Hezhou lama Bkra shis rin chen (失加領真, 加失領真) acted as the intermediary to bring Har gdong and the Oirat Mongols into allegiance. When he came to the Ming court in September 1446, the Ming government identified him as a military spy working for the Oirats and detained him in Nanjing.[62] In December 1448, when Bkra shis rin chen was found to have escaped from Nanjing, the military officers in Gansu received the order to arrest the lama spy lest he should flee via Gansu back to the Oirats with the informations he obtained in China.[63] The "Tibetan monk" (*fanseng*) Bsod nams (Suonan 鎖南) was imprisoned for having read Chinese books on astrology and military strategy but was released in 1450.[64]

A very important point one must bear in mind is that a "Tibetan monk" or a *lama* in the Ming period could refer to any Buddhist monk who practised Tibetan

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[61] MSL 28: 2558. The Kangxi emperor pointed out that many of the so-called *huizi* "the Muslims" (> Manchu *hoise*) were descendants of the Yuan Mongols (回子多元子孫), see *Kangxi jixia gewu bian* 康熙幾暇格物編, Vol. 1, p. 5a.

[62] MSL 28: 2846.

[63] MSL 29: 3310.

[64] MSL 31: 3817. He was somehow affiliated with Xining 喜寧 (a Yi 彝 native, see Zha Jizuo, *Zuiwei lu*, p. 2249), the eunuch who betrayed the Ming and worked for the Oirats.

Buddhism regardless of his actual ethnicity. Already in the early Yuan period, due to the high religious and social status enjoyed by the Tibetan monks, there were Chinese who preferred becoming "Tibetan monks". The Yuan legal code did, however, state that Chinese monks (*Han'er heshangmei* 漢兒和尙每) should not wear red robes as if they were Tibetan monks (*Tubo* [Mo. *Töböd*] *heshang hongyifu* 土缽和尙紅衣服) or they would be arrested.[65] Most of the Ming emperors were pro-Tibetan Buddhists. The Zhengde emperor (Zhu Houzhao alias Rin chen dpal ldan) dressed himself like a lama.[66] His favorite court lama Gzhon nu rin chen (Runulingzhan 乳奴領占) was in fact a Chinese from the Gao 高 clan in Sichuan.[67]

In the second half of the sixteenth century, the Tümed Mongols occupied Qinghai and harassed the Gansu and Shaanxi regions. Failing to conquer the Oirat Mongols and having been converted to Tibetan Buddhism, the Tümed leader Altan Qan, or known in Chinese as Anda 俺答, chose to consolidate his power vis-à-vis the Oirats by establishing a *yon mchod* relationship with the Dge lugs pa lama Bsod nams rgya mtsho (the third Dalai Lama, 1543-1588) and by obtaining the sanction of the Ming emperor. When Bsod nams rgya mtsho

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[65] *Tongzhi tiaoge* 通制條格, *juan* 29: 14b.

[66] See Toh, *Shaykh 'Âlam*, p. 13.

[67] MSL 66: 2062.

submitted a petition[68] to Zhang Juzheng in 1578 to seek approval for paying tribute to the Ming court, Zhang Juzheng saw this as a good opportunity to cease the military conflicts between the Ming and the Tümed Mongols.[69] As a result, the Ming court entitled Bsod nams rgya mtsho *chanshi* 禪師 and promised to upgrade the title in accordance with the lama's future contribution to "educate the Mongols" (*hua lu* 化虜). Zhang Juzheng even wrote with enthusiasm: "Henceforth, the Chinese, the Tibetans and the Mongols are united as one family to enjoy the peace forever. The fame [for this success] will be glorified over a myriad ages!"[70] The Ming policy was to encourage the Mongols to embrace the

[68] In the letter (translated from Tibetan into vernacular Chinese), Bsod nams rgya mtsho refers to himself as "Shākya dge slong Bsod nams rgya mtsho dpal bzang po" (*Shijiamoni biqiu Suonanjiancuo xianjixiang* 釋迦摩尼比邱鎖南堅錯賢吉祥). The letter begins by eulogizing Zhang Juzheng (知道你的名顯如日月，天下皆知有你，身體甚好 "Knowing that your name is as glorious as the sun and the moon, all in the world know of you, your health being excellent.") and wishing the emperor well (我保佑皇上，晝夜念經 "I bless His Majesty [by] reciting the scriptures day and night."). The letter ends by saying: "Your Highness asked Shunyi Wang 順義王 (the princely title granted to Altan Qan by the Ming court) to go home (i.e., to Qinghai) quickly. I will ask him to go back [in accordance with your wish] (閣下分付順義王早早回家，我就分付他回去)." (Zhang Juzheng, *Zhang Taiyue ji*, p. 553a)

[69] *Da Gansu xunfu Hou Yechuan* 答甘肅巡撫侯掖川: 藏僧求貢事，實制馭虜酋之一機 (Zhang Juzheng, *Zhang Taiyue ji*, p. 378a).

[70] Zhang Juzheng, *Zhang Taiyue ji*, p. 378b: 此後中華番虜合爲一家，永享太平，垂名萬世矣. The *Erdeni-yin tobči* mentions that the Wanli emperor sent *sung bing, buujang, sanjang* (總兵、部將、參將) to bestow gifts on Bsod nams rgya mtsho. Shen Zengzhi 沈曾

religion as much as possible.[71] On the occasion when Altan Qan granted the title of *dalai lama* to Bsod nams rgya mtsho, the ceremony was witnessed by "Chinese, Tibetan, Mongol and Uyghur clerics and laymen" (*kitad töbed mongγol uyiγur kiged toyin egil* <*egel*>).[72] The Ming court usually sent Chinese monks (*Hanseng* 漢僧) as well as Tibetan monks (*Fanseng* 番僧) to be present

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植, citing the *Xizang lama hutuketu yuanliu* 西藏喇嘛呼圖克圖源流, pointed out that the third Dalai Lama was later promoted to *gongding daguoguoxieli* 恭定達國國協禮 (*Menggu yuanliu jianzheng* 蒙古源流箋證, Taibei: Zhongguo Wenxian Chubanse, 1965, 7: 14a) which must be *gung ding ta güüširi* (< Ch. *guanding daguoshi* 灌頂大國師). MSL and MS do not include these facts and this, unfortunately, has misled a number of scholars. It therefore contradicts the historical reality by saying: "If the supposition is valid that the Ming policy was covertly one of bribery intended to keep the lamas away from the Mongols, then it is not surprising that once the 'lama-patron' relationship was indeed resumed by Altan Qan and the Dalai Lama, the Ming emperors stopped giving lavish rewards and titles to the lamas; nor, that thereafter, lamas rarely went to China" (T. Wylie, "Lama Tribute in the Ming Dynasty", in M. Aris and Aung San Suu kyi eds., *Tibetan Studies in Honour of Hugh Richardson*, Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1980, p. 338).

[71] Xiao Daheng 蕭大亨, *Yisu ji* 夷俗記 (*Baoyantang miji xuji* 8), p. 3b: 萬曆二十二年奉聖旨陞松木之子爲朵兒只昌，異其事也。以故夷人愈益崇佛不倦，而喇嘛之在虜中者，我歲有所賜以獎異之.

[72] Minoru Gō, Igor de Rachewiltz, J. Krueger, B. Ulaan eds., *Erdeni-yin tobči: a Mongolian Chronicle of 1662*, Canberra: Faculty of Asian Studies, The Australian National University, 1990-1, 76v. The Manchu translation reads *nikan tubet monggo oigor lama kara*, see Erich Haenisch hrsg., *Monggo Han sai da sekiyen: die Mandschufassung von Secen Sagangs mongolischer Geschichte*, Leipzig: Verlag Asia Major, 1933, p. 95.

among the Mongols.[73] Again, it should be noted that "Chinese monks" were monks who practised Chinese Buddhism whereas "Tibetan monks" were monks who practised Tibetan Buddhism regardless of their ethnicity. It is very likely that most, if not all, of the "Tibetan monks" sent for Altan Qan were of Chinese ethnicity. Already in 1573, Altan Qan asked for lamas and Buddhist scriptures from the Ming court.[74] At that time, the Supreme Commander (*zongdu* 總督) Wang Chonggu 王崇古 sent two lamas (*lama seng* 剌麻僧) Seng ge bzang po (Xingjizangbu 星吉藏卜) and Rgyal mtshan grags pa (Jiancanzhaba 堅參札巴) together with their disciples Rin chen pad ma (Lingzhanbanma 領占班麻) and Seng ge rgya mtsho (Xingjijiancuo 星吉堅錯) to present Buddhist scriptures to Altan Qan. Fearing that the Tibetan monks (i.e., the real Tibetan monks) recruited by Altan Qan[75] would find the two "Tibetan monks" from China not to

[73] Qu Jiusi 瞿九思, *Wanli wugong lu* 萬曆武功錄 (*Xuxiu Siku Quanshu* 436), Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 1995-99, p. 469. It should be noted that "Tibetan monks present among the Mongols" (*zai Lu fanseng* 在虜番僧) (MSL 97: 533) or Tibetan monks who "were ordered to stay among the Mongols" (*ling ju Lu zhong* 令居虜中) (Qu jiusi, op. cit., p. 469) were mostly Chinese spies.

[74] Cf. 1.1.2.

[75] Besides the Dge lugs pa, these Tibetan monks were mainly Stag lung pa. For this, see the biography of Altan Qan, *Erdeni tunumal* §345: *degedü staγlung čorǰi terigüten sir-a ulaγan malaγ-a-tan-u quvaraγ-ud-i čiγulγaǰu* ... ...etc. (Morikawa Tetsuo, *"Arutan Hān den" no kenkyū*, Fukuoka: Kyushu University, 1987, p. 50); cf. SL: 545ff.

be well-versed in tantric formulae and that Altan Qan might for that reason belittle the Ming court, Wang Chonggu made it plain to the Qan that China's law prohibited magic but honored Indian Mahāyāna Buddhism.[76] It seems to me that this strongly suggests that the two "Tibetan monks" were not Tibetan but Chinese. The MSL informs us that Pad ma was promoted from *dugang* to *jueyi* in 1574[77] and, thanks to the valuable account given by Tao Wangling 陶望齡, the sixteenth-century Neo-Confucian scholar who befriended several distinguished Chinese monks, we know that this Pad ma came from the Yu 郁 clan and was the abbot of the Buddhist temple Sanxuan'an 三玄菴. Pad ma recollected that when he was sent for Altan Qan, he was dressed, like a Tibetan lama, in a red cassock (*dahong jiasha* 大紅袈裟) prepared for him by the Ming court. The Qan prostrated himself nine times before him. Tens of thousands of Mongol troops surrounded the Qan, listening and responding to the Qan's chanting, and "the sound resembled that of the mountain-shaking autumnal tides while the people

[76] Qu Jiusi, op. cit., p. 469. Wang Chonggu viewed tantrism as heretical and different from the "correct" version of Mahāyāna tradition as found in China.

Cf. also Zhang Juzheng's remarks about the floodtide of Tibetan Buddhist phonies in the Ming capital: 今在京番僧皆溷濁淫濊之流, 不通釋典, 遣去恐爲虜人所輕 "Nowadays the Tibetan monks in the capital are generally sordid and wanton fellows who have no solid knowledge of Buddhist scriptures. If we send them [to the Mongols], I fear that the Mongols may belittle us." (*Da Xuan-Da xunfu yan Lu qiu fojing* 答宣大巡撫言虜求佛經, in Zhang Juzheng, *Zhang Taiyue ji*, p. 281b)

[77] MSL 97: 733.

circumambulated him and kowtowed, making a sound as if there were myriads of pestles hitting [the mortars]".[78]

The non-Tibetan lamas acted as intermediaries between the Chinese and Mongols and, sometimes, even as military spies. Under complicated circumstances, it was not always easy to decide whether their activities benefited the Chinese or the Mongolian side. This gave rise to controversies among the Chinese themselves concerning the role of such lama diplomats and lama spies. For instance, Mao Yuanyi (1594-1640) writes:

> 弘治十三年令："凡漢人出家習學番教，不拘軍民、曾否關給度牒，俱問發原籍及該軍衛有司當差。若漢人冒作番人者，發邊衛充軍。" 今之所謂喇嘛者，皆此類也。乃欲倚之和戎，優異待之。至如王桑叭者，本田大司馬樂家丁，曾至京師見其子緹帥田爾耕，不能隱，乃使撫夷，每爲虜間插，酋至大同，復調之來。總督張曉以本兵王在晉之故尊禮之，既不能講折，可知其概矣。乃虜既搶大同城外三日，恐我兵躡之，使至城下，佯言講和，歸婦人三百餘，皆以刀截其足

[78] Tao Wangling, *Zeng Dajue Chanshi Yu Banma xu* 贈大覺禪師郁班麻序: 胡騎數萬環以聽大酋梵唱，屬而和者如秋潮之撼山，羅拜額擊地若萬杵登登也. (*Xie'an ji* 歇庵集, Taibei: Weiwen Tushu Chubanshe Youxian Gongsi, 1977, *juan* 5, pp. 769-773).

底，大同撫臣張爾翼遂信之，不敢出一兵追，在晉尙言是其功，嗟乎。[79]

The decree issued in the thirteenth year of Hongzhi (1500) reads: "Any Chinese who became a monk and practiced Tibetan Buddhism (*fanjiao*), regardless of his being military personnel or a commoner, or having been granted a permit (*dudie*) or not, should without exception be examined and sent back to his birthplace and to work for the military officials there. As for the Chinese who pretend to be Tibetans, banish them to the frontier for military service." What we call *lama* today is this kind of person. How could we rely on them to achieve a peaceful agreement with the Mongols and grant them privileges? For instance, Wang Sangs [rgyas] dpal[80] was originally a menial for the *dasima* Tian Le. Because he went to the capital to see Tian's

[79] Mao Yuanyi, *Zhang ji* (*Beijing Tushuguan guji zhenben congkan* 66). Beijing: Shumu Wenxian Chubanshe, 1988, pp. 874-75.

[80] His name is given elsewhere as Sangjibazang 桑吉叭藏 (Sangs rgyas dpal bzang). The impossible form Sangs rgyas Pa sangs is given in Li Qinpu, "Mingmo Liaodong bianwu lama", *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica* 71.3 (2000), p. 568.

son Tian Ergeng[81], the Chief of the Imperial Bodyguard (*tishuai*), and could hide himself no more, he was sent to pacify the barbarians and always acted as an intermediary for the Mongols. When the Mongol chief arrived in Datong, he was again transferred there. The Supreme Commander Zhang Xiao honored him for the sake of the Regional Commander Wang Zaijin. Failing to negotiate for peace, [his lack of capability] should already be known quite thoroughly. Nevertheless when the Mongols raided the areas outside the Datong city for three days, in order to prevent our army from pursuing them, they sent him (i.e., the lama) to negotiate for peace by returning some three hundred women, all of them had their feet cut off. The Datong Coordinator Zhang Eryi believed him and dared not send out a single soldier to pursue [the Mongols]. And yet [Wang] Zaijin claimed that this was his (i.e., the lama's) merit. Alas!

This Wang Sangs rgyas dpal bzang was one of the lamas (*lama seng* 喇嘛僧) who, later (in the 1620s), worked in Liaodong for Yuan Chonghuan / Yün Song-un 袁崇煥 (1584-1630)—the Cantonese scholar who was Grand Coordinator of

[81] According to MS: 7872, he was the grandson of Tian Le. He was also an "adopted son" (*yizi* 義子) of the powerful eunuch Wei Zhongxian 魏忠賢 (MS: 2338).

Liaodong in 1626-1627 and from whom the great Manchu leader and warrior Nurgaci suffered a fatal defeat—to spy on the Manchus. He is frequently referred to in the MSL as Wang Lama 王喇嘛. Working with him was Li Lama 李喇嘛 alias Suonanmuzuo 鎖南木座 which should be restored to Bsod nams mchog.[82] Both, as we read in the MSL, "though being Tibetan monks, are still of Chinese extraction".[83] These were what the Manchus called *nikan lama* ("Chinese lama").[84] Bsod nams mchog or Li Lama was also known among the Chinese as Li Suonan 李鎖南 (Li Bsod nams). In 1627, he was sent as a "middleman" (*siden i niyalma*) to meet with Hong Taiji by Yuan Chonghuan who was eager to find out if Nurgaci was truly killed during the Sino-Manchu war in Ningyuan 寧遠 (1626). Bsod nams mchog told Hong Taiji that his wish as a Buddhist monk (*hûwašan niyalmai buyerengge*) had been to study *somishûn narhûn bithe* "hidden and secret books" (Tibetan *gter ma* and tantric texts?) ever since childhood (*ajigan ci*) and to visit famous [sacred] mountains (*gebu tucike alin alin de acaname*) in addition to bringing peace to the world (*abkai fejergi taifin*

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[82] Shen Guoyuan, *Liangchao congxin lu*, p. 2924. The form Bsod nams mtsho given in Li Qinpu, op. cit., p. 581 is incorrect.

[83] *sui yue Fanseng, you shi Huazhong* 雖曰番僧，猶是華種 (MSL 132: 3563-3564); cf. the distinction between "true Mongols" (*zhenlu* 真虜) and "Chinese" (*Huaren* 華人) among the Mongols (Zhang Juzheng, *Zhang Taiyue ji*, p. 266b).

[84] For example, see MWLD 5: 782.

okini serengge). He said, "We Buddhist disciples, though materially poor, are not poor morally. We are able to carry out what [others] cannot carry out; we are able to endure what [others] cannot endure."[85] (*meni fucihi i šabi, beye udu yadacibe doro yadahûn akû, yabuci ojorakû babe yabume mutembi, kirime muterakû babe kirime mutembi*) He persuaded Hong Taiji to give up the Manchu appeal—concerning what Nurgaci called "the seven regrets" (*nadan koro*, Ch. *qi dahen* 七大恨)—against the Ming dynasty. He urged Hong Taiji to reach a peaceful agreement with Yuan Chonghuan who "was truly a living Buddha" (*weihun fucihi kai*) by saying: "One can often encounter good occasions and good miracles. But to encounter a good man, it is difficult." (*sain erin sain ferguwecun be hono kemuni ucarambi, damu sain niyalma be ucarara mangga*). The lama said, "[You should] give up what you can give up and, having endured what is difficult to endure, [you should] give! (*waliyaci ojoro be waliya, tebcici mangga be tebcifi bu*) The Buddha said: 'The ocean of troubles is boundless. Once you turn back, you are immediately ashore.'[86] Once you stop war, there is at once happiness." (*fucihi hendume, jobolon i mederi jecen akû, uju amasi foroci uthai dalin kai sehebi, dain be nakaci uthai jirgacun kai*)[87] In response, Hong Taiji warned Bsod nams mchog that he was not ignorant of Buddhism and that

[85] Cf. Ch. *nan xing neng xing, nan ren neng ren* 難行能行，難忍能忍.

[86] Ch. *kuhai wubian, huitou shi an* 苦海無邊，回頭是岸.

[87] All the quotes in Manchu are from MWLD 4: 19-22.

the lama should not side with the Ming to befool him. He said pungently, "This saying (i.e., the quote about the "ocean of troubles"—my note) is right. Address it to us as well as to the Chinese emperor. How nice if everyone should turn back! O Lama, you being a wise man penetrating the Buddha's teachings and knowing all principles, how could you, knowing [all this], willfully disdain us?" (*tere gisun inu, si meni baru inu hendu, nikan han i baru inu hendu, yaya uju amasi foroci sain kai, lama si fucihi šajin be hafuka, eiten doro be sara mergen niyalma kai, same jortai membe ainu fusihûlambi*) "It is said in the ancient book: 'If people respect one another, the will to compete will cease.' If you disdain us and evoke hatred, the previous agreement will be spoiled, let alone establish a new agreement!" (*niyalma ishunde kunduleci temšere mujilen nakambi seme julgei bithe de henduhebi, fusihûlara korsobure de ice doro acara anggala, acaha doro inu efujembi kai*)[88]

In fact, the Manchus also had their own lama spies. A certain Be lama (Bai Lama 白喇嘛) detained by Yuan Chonghuan was a spy working for the Manchu side.[89] In many cases, it was not easy to determine whether a certain lama spy actually worked for which side. Hence, when the Ming authorities decided to get rid of the country's anti-Manchu hero Yuan Chonghuan, Yuan's having

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[88] MWLD 4: 29-32.

[89] MWLD 4: 213-24. Cf. Oshibuchi Hajime 鴛淵一, *Manshū hiki kō* 滿洲碑記考, Tokyo: Meguro Shoten, 1943, pp. 91-125, MSL 132: 3452.

employed lamas for military espionage was one of the charges leveled against him which finally contributed to his tragic execution. The identity and missions of some of the lamas active in the Sino-Manchu conflicts prior to the Manchu conquest of China in 1644 still remain, partially or totally, mysteries and require further investigation. For instance, in an MWLD entry for the year of 1630, we are told that Hong Taiji postponed his returning journey after he had heard that a certain Manjusiri Lama was trying to catch up with him in order to speak with him. When the lama arrived, he was warmly received. They shook hands and, having entered the Manchu Qan's yellow tent, they sat side by side and had tea and meat together. The lama asked for the Chinese vice-general Ding who was captured by the Manchus. Hong Taiji, granting the lama's wish without a second thought, gave the lama his handwritten order to have Ding transferred from Dzun Hûwa (Zunhua 遵化) to Pan Giya Keo (Panjiakou 潘家口) where Ding should be handed over to the lama.[90] Who was this Manjusiri Lama? What was his relationship with the Manchu Qan? Why should a Chinese captive be handed over to him? Was he a Mongol or a Manchu? We have no answers now but we can be sure that non-Tibetan lamas formed a special class on the Sino-Mongolian

[90] MWLD 4: 325: *juwan nadan de, jurafi jidere de, manjusiri lama, han be acaki seme amcame jimbi seme donjifi, aliyame tehe bade [...] han morin yalufi lama be okdofi, lama i gala jafame acame, suwayan cacari cafi, cacari dolo han i adame tebufi, cai omibuha yali ulebuhe, lama baire jakade, dain de jafaha ding fujiyang be buhe, han hendume, burgadu i jafafi benjihe ding fujiyang dzun hûwa de bi, tere be ganafi pan giya keo de benju, manjusiri lama i gala de afabume bu.*

and Sino-Manchu frontiers and played a role no less important than military personnel in the Sino-Mongolian and Sino-Manchu wars in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

4.3 Tibetan Buddhism and Ming Scholars

By reading only the MSL and the MS, one might get the impression that Chinese scholars and lamas (Tibetan and non-Tibetan alike) formed two opposing classes in Ming society. The fact, however, is that there were Chinese scholars who had lama friends. In the foregoing section, we have seen that the writer and Neo-Confucian scholar Tao Wangling was a friend of the lama Pad ma.

The famous dramatist Tang Xianzu 湯顯祖 (1550-1617) recorded in a poem that he encountered an "Indian monk" (*zhuseng* 竺僧) who traveled to China in order to meet with Luo Jinxi 羅近溪 (1515-1588), the distinguished Neo-Confucian scholar, and regretted finding that Luo had departed. The beginning line of the poem reads:

萬里伊州入漢關 [91]

[91] 正覺寺逢竺僧，自云西來訪羅夫子不及 (*Tang Xianzu quanji*, Beijing: Beijing Guji Chubanshe, 1999, p. 890). Tang Xianzu also recorded a high quality lock brought from Dbus-Gtsang 烏斯藏巧鎖 (p. 796).

> Traveling for ten thousand miles from Yizhou, he entered the Han Pass.

Yizhou refers to Qomul (Hami 哈密). So this "Indian" monk was most probably a Uyghur lama.

The Zhejiang monk Deshan 德山 (a native of Ningbo 寧波) was a close friend of Tang Shunzhi 唐順之 (1507-1560), the renowned prose writer, mathematician, and martial arts expert. Deshan once offered a bronze statue of Buddha to the sacred island Putuoshan. Because of his "peculiar and antique demeanor" (*qigu* 奇古), he was called *lama* (*lama seng* 喇嘛僧).[92] In Classical Chinese, *qigu* has positive connotations (so does *guguai* 古怪) and usually indicates high spiritual quality or outstanding personality. This suggests that lamas were not always viewed as "evils" by Chinese scholars. Wu Wenqi 吳文企 wrote in the Wanli period:

> 佛出中印度，其法教東漸，而此方震旦始有厭俗爲僧者。僧更厭震旦，不居，望中印天外不可到，到飛仙、烏斯諸國土，習其語言文字，傳其秘密神咒以歸，歸即儼然番師矣。余所禮娑難散怛，政從烏斯藏來，形骸土木，戒忍金剛，洛伽

[92] Z1524.77: 534c.

五臺之間逝將一往大休焉。談烏斯風土，都不類赤縣神州：“其僧侶六時梵唄，不蓄寸縷。其勝流聚論傳辯，以相甲乙。其俗間食羶飲酪。灑然不務積聚，先功德，後生計。死之日，其子盡散其先居之財，以佐冥福。大抵法教之所漸靡，俗人皆有僧氣，不類此方震旦僧人兼帶俗習也。” 余會其言意，代爲敷說如此，以省高座應對之煩。[93]

Buddhism originated in Magadha. The teaching was diffused eastwards and, only then, there were people here in China who were averse to mundane activities and became monks. The monks, again, became tired of living in China. They regret that Magadha is far beyond reach and they went to countries such as Feixian[94] and Wusi[95], studied the languages and scripts there, and brought home with them esoteric formulae imparted to them. Once they returned, they were held indeed as Tibetan masters (*fanshi*). Bsod nams bsam gtan whom I revere comes from none other than Dbus-

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[93] *Zeng Fanshi Suonansandan xu* 贈番師娑難散怛敘 (Wu Wenqi, *Xu'an qianlu* 絮菴暫錄, *Tianjin Tushuguan guben miji* 11, p. 833a).

[94] Ch. *feixian* "flying deities" (borrowed from Taoism) reflects Tibetan *mkha' 'gro ma*. Here, it refers to the land of *ḍākinī* (U rgyan).

[95] That is, Dbus (Central Tibet).

Gtsang. He sees physical bodies as [lifeless as] wood and soil and his clinging to the *vinaya* is as firm as the diamond. He will pass away in the future somewhere either in Putuoshan or Wutaishan. He spoke of the customs in Dbus which totally differ from those in China: "The clerics chant day and night and keep not a single thread of cloth. The luminaries gathered together to debate eloquently to surpass each other. As for the customary food and drink, mutton and butter milk[96] are consumed. The people are free from the concerns of accumulating wealth. They emphasize religious merits over the present livelihood. When someone dies, his sons will spend all the money he previously saved to bless him in the afterlife. In general, the religious teaching is so widespread that even a layman has the monkish demeanor, in contrast to the monks here in China who still carry with them the habits of laymen." I understood what he meant and explained on his behalf [the Tibetan way] in this manner so as to reduce his troubles of having to deal with too many social activities [here in China].

Here we have a very positive image of a lama as an ascetic and serious religious practitioner.

[96] The Tibetan butter tea is mentioned in Li Rihua, *Liuyanzhai biji* 六硯齋筆記, Shanghai: Zhongyang Shudian, 1936, *juan* 2 (割酥點茶).

One of the most renowned Ming writers Wang Shizhen 王世貞 (1526-1590) had the hobby of collecting skull cups (*dinggu bei* 頂骨杯) while Huang Hui 黃輝 (16th century) was interested in Tibetan *thangka* (*xiufo* 繡佛).[97] The religious objects were not always considered "dirty" or "indecent" by the Chinese scholars as one frequently assumes based on what one reads in the MSL and MS.

The Zhejiang artist Li Rihua 李日華 (1565-1635) and the Fujian poet Cao Xuequan 曹學佺 (1574-1646) befriended an "Indian monk" Bsod nams rnam rgyal 鎖喃嚷結 (who was in fact a Uyghur) in Jiaxing, Zhejiang.[98] According to Li Rihua's *Liuyanzhai biji*, he and Cao Xuequan (曹愚公侍御) first met Bsod nams rnam rgyal "on the ninth day of the ninth month in the year of *jiazi* during the reign of Tianqi" (天啓甲子九月九日, i.e., October 20, 1624) at the Snow Well (Xuejing 雪井) in the monastery Zhenrusi 真如寺 in Li's home district Jiaxing 嘉興. Bsod nams rnam rgyal was referred to elsewhere by Li Rihua as the "Indian master Juecheng" 覺成 / 城梵師.[99] There we are told that Juecheng was summoned by the Wanli emperor to leave India and resided in Mt. Wutai and that the tantric teachings given by him were unknown to the Chinese which

[97] *Shi xiseng dinggu ji* 施西僧頂骨記, *Huang Taishi Yichuntang yigao* 黃太史怡春堂逸稿, Taibei: Weiwen Chubanshe Youxian Gongsi, 1976, p. 105.

[98] *Liuyanzhai biji*, pp. 32-36.

[99] *Tianzhi Tang ji* 恬致堂集, Taibei: Guoli Zhongyang Tushuguan, 1971, 28: 23a-25a.

convinced Li Rihua that there were profound secrets of Buddhism which had not been transmitted to China but still remained in India (有未洩之秘尙留彼中). However in the *Liuyanzhai biji*, we are told that Bsod nams rnam rgyal, having studied with Mahāśrī (Maheshili 嘛喝實利) who was "the Highest Dharma King" (*Wushang fawang* 無上法王) and "the Dharma son saved by the perfect and superior Buddha" (*Yuantong zhisheng fo suodu fazi* 圓通至勝佛所度法子) of Qoco, was inspired by the life of a certain Paṇḍita (Bandida 班的答) who served as the Chenghua emperor's *guoshi* "State Preceptor"[100] and decided to travel to China. He traveled together with Suonanluzhu 鎖喃陸竹 (Bsod nams lhun grub? Bsod nams blo gros?), Suonanjiancuo 鎖喃堅剉 (Bsod nams rgya mtsho), Zhanyangnanke 展陽喃渴 ('Jam dbyangs nam mkha') and Duo'erzhichan 朶而只儳 (Rdo rje 'chang / Rdo rje [rgyal] mtshan?).[101] While in Tibet, they sent a letter to the Dharma King Hou Shaolai 侯法王哨來—note the fact that the MSL does not inform us about the many *fawang*-s (Tibetan and non-Tibetan) present in China in post-Yongle times—of the Rāhula Temple 羅喉寺, Mt. Wutai. Having arrived in China, they stayed in the Rāhula Temple for two years until they were transferred to the monastery Shuanglinsi 雙林寺 in Beijing by Liu Run 劉潤, the eunuch from the Imperial Stud 御馬監太監. On the

[100] Cf. Manshu Zhenjun 曼殊震鈞, *Tianzhi ouwen* 天咫偶聞, 1: 17b: 明成化中番僧板的答.

[101] These names are not properly punctuated in T2089.51: 986a.

fifteenth day of the fifth month in the thirtieth year of Wanli 萬曆三十年五月十五日 (July 4, 1602), the Empress Dowager had Bsod nams rnam rgyal stay in the Wanshou'an 萬壽庵 temple to perform tantric incantations for three years. He was then recommended to the Wanli emperor by Zhang Gui 張貴, the eunuch from the Repository of Tibetan Scriptures (*Fanjingchang taijian* 番經廠太監) and was transferred to the Repository of Indian Scriptures (Xijingchang 西經廠) to teach the eunuchs [in religious matters] (*jiaoshou zhonggui* 教授中貴). He stayed in Jiaxing after his pilgrimage to the Southern Seas. 'Jam dbyangs nam mkha' and Rdo rje 'chang died in Mt. Wutai and the Shuanglinsi respectively. Bsod nams lhun grub and Bsod nams rgya mtsho were transferred to Shanhaiguan 山海關 and Moyun 墨雲. Moyun probably should be corrected to Miyun 密雲. Both Shanhaiguan and Miyun were important frontier passes. It seems that the two monks had acted as intermediaries or spies on the frontiers.

Bsod nams rnam rgyal came from Gaochang (Qoco). He was therefore most likely a Uyghur. Since he was a monk practising Tibetan Buddhism, he should be known as coming from "India". So he placed Gaochang in East India (Dong Tianzhu 東天竺)[102] in his travelogue (as recorded in the *Liuyan Zhai biji*), a large portion of which was in fact a partial reproduction (and distortion) of Huili's 慧立 *Biography of Xuanzang* (*Da Ci'ensi Sanzang Fashi zhuan* 大慈恩

[102] In Ming times, "East India" was Bengal, the only Indian state that had short-term diplomatic relations with Ming China, see Chapter One.

寺三藏法師傳) with a mere reversal of the journey's direction. To my knowledge, no Turkologist studying the Uyghur version of the *Biography of Xuanzang* has come to be aware of Bsod nams rnam rgyal's travelogue (recorded by Li Rihua around 1624) which, as it seems to me, indicates the popularity the biography enjoyed among Uyghur Buddhists up until that time.

Li Rihua's record confirms that, in post-Jiajing times, there were still "lamas" who came to China and served the Ming royal house. In the *Yuanshi*, we often read that Uyghur monks and Tibetan monks were present together in the Yuan palace. The Ming official records do not mention at all the presence of Uyghur monks in the Ming palace. Li Rihua's record allows us to see that the Uyghur monks who practised Tibetan Buddhism were not distinguished from the monks from Tibet. This might explain why we do not find "Uyghur monks" in the Ming palace. Since Tibetan monks were frequently identified as "Indian monks" in the Ming period, the Uyghur monks were also known as "Indian monks". One must note the fact that, although there were Chinese monks who practised Tibetan Buddhism, they were never known as "Indian monks". They were known as— "Tibetan monks".

As the Uyghur regions became increasingly Islamicized, it is probable that there were some Uyghur Buddhist monks who chose to migrate to China at a time when Tibetan Buddhism was quite popular there. Such an influx of Uyghur monks to China might have already started in the late Ming period and continued after the Manchu conquest. The seventeenth-century writer Chen Ding 陳鼎

noted the presence of "mendicant arhats" (*qishi luohan* 乞食羅漢) with hooked nose (*goubi* 鉤鼻) and deep eyes (*shenmu* 深目) in Wutaishan, Beijing, Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Fujian and Guangzhou. These mendicant monks understood Chinese[103] and were probably Uyghurs. The Sira Uyghurs were not converted to Islam. However, it is hard to say whether Bsod nams rnam rgyal was a Sira Uyghur. We read in the *Erdeni-yin tobči* the following:

> *[... ...] baraγun eteged töbet-tür morilan, guru bsodnam rcal terigüten sira uyiγur-i oroγulǰu [...].* [104]

> [... ...] setting out for Tibet of the western side, subduing the Sira Uyghurs headed by Guru Bsod nams rgyal [...].

This seems to imply that the Sira Uyghurs were close to "Tibet of the West".

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[103] Chen Ding, *Dian-Qian jiyou* 滇黔紀遊, in Wang Song 王崧 (1752-1837), *Yunnan beizheng zhi* 雲南備徵志, 14: 266.

[104] ET: 170. The Manchu translation reads: *wargi tubet bade coohalame, guru sonam jal-i jergi sara oigor be dahabuha* (Haenisch, op. cit., p. 106). For the Sira Uyghurs in the Ming period, cf. also Emil Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources: fragments towards the knowledge of the geography and history of central and western Asia from the 13th to the 17th century*, London: Trübner & Co., 1888, I: 263, II: 205-208 (The name Ling-djan-gan-sie-rh on p. 207 must be corrected to Ling-djan-wo-sie-rh, i.e., Rin chen 'od zer).

Also to be noted is that Cao Xuequan wrote a preface to the *Xinshi* 心史 (*Heart History*) which was ascribed to Zheng Suonan 鄭所南 (1241-1318), the anti-Mongol Fujian scholar of the Southern Song dynasty. According to Lin Gudu's 林古度 preface, the *Xinshi*—kept in an iron case—was rediscovered by the monk Junhui 君慧 when the latter was cleaning the well at his temple. Junhui, as the discoverer of the text, was regarded as the rebirth of Zheng Suonan, the author of the text.[105] What is peculiar about the text is that it ends with a healing mantra in addition to the fact that it has a sizeable section on Tibetan Buddhism in the early Yuan period wherein Tibetan monks dressed in yellow are mentioned.[106] It is an anachronism to place Tibetan monks from the Yellow sect (Dge lugs pa) in the early Yuan period and, therefore, that section appears to be a Ming forgery. The text surfaced at that particular time in order to promote anti-Manchu sentiments among the Chinese. Cao was to become a patriotic martyr who refused to surrender to the Manchus. The "rediscovery" of this text was probably related to the Tibetan *gter ma* tradition especially if we consider the fact

[105] *Xinshi* (*Beijing Tushuguan guji zhenben congkan* 90), Beijing: Shumu Wenxian Chubanshe, 1988, p. 872.

[106] *Dayi luexu* 大義略敘, *Xinshi*, p. 43.

that Cao Xuequan and Li Rihua knew of Padmasambhava through Bsod nams rnam rgyal.[107]

To sum up, Tibetan Buddhism was not in decline in China proper from 1425 to 1644 but, on the contrary, had turned into a religious vogue there. It was found among the emperors and eunuchs. It was found among the Chinese, Mongols and Uyghurs. It was no longer "monopolized" by the Tibetans. In terms of popularity, the Ming was indeed the "golden age" of Tibetan Buddhism in China.

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[107] Bsod nams rnam rgyal stayed for two years in India Minor (Xiaoxitian 小西天, cf. 1.2.9) or Dbus-Gtsang 烏思藏 within the territory of Xifan 西番境界 (i.e., Tibet). In Tibet, he witnessed the "Tibetan scriptures and Tibetan magic formulae" (*fanjing fanzhou* 番經番咒) imparted by Lianhua Shangshi 蓮花上師, i.e., Padmasambhava (Li Rihua, *Liuyanzhai biji*, Shanghai: Zhongyang Shudian, 1936, p. 35). Cao Xuequan also noted the presence of Tibetan monks near Yuhuatai 雨花臺, Nanjing (cf. 2.4). According to him, they "came from the country of Xifan" (*chu Xifan zhi guo* 出西番之國), see *Pudesi chantang fanseng shu* 普德寺禪堂飯僧疏, in *Shicang wengao* 石倉文稿 (*Xuxiu Siku quanshu* 1367), 4: 9. Here, the name "Xifan" also refers to Tibet proper.

Appendix

The Biography of Ngag dbang blo bzang

清阿王老藏，燕京西山之喇嘛也，姓賈氏。生甫十齡，父母送之崇國寺為沙彌。年十八，始受具。稟性超穎，度越儕伍。已習韋馱，兼究瑜伽。慧根自覺，真空獨證。于番、漢經書，一目俱了。復歷講肆，遍聆奧義。至於三密護身，壇儀悉練。五部印契，宣導咸推。會大清定鼎，順治初元，應詔入都，藏與同壇五人，攝齊受戒，有一上士，忽諦視曰："此中有一五臺主人。"眾皆惘然，莫測所謂。及順治己亥，藏果以兼通番、漢膺選，乘傳上主五臺，總理番、漢經典。舊時所譯，多所訂正。上士之言，始為有徵。自涖眾茲山，乳竇重流，荆條復茂。損食減衣，以施貧乏。禪堂駢集，覺路弘開。補綴殘典，不憚勤勞。生平不設衣缽，一錫飄然，無所繫念。空諸所有，即為正觀。平等應緣，解除一切。乘五衍之軾，開八正之門。拯溺逝川，大庇交喪。內翰繆彤、中行李嘉猷，道過臺頂，一見皈依。玉帶山門，雲天瓶水，遠吟深契，信非偶然。厥後，比歲赴覲闕廷，欽承天問，妙諦微幾，既協皇情，而譯事鉤稽，尤邀特眷。是以殊禮異數，寵賚滋多。康熙辛亥，年已七十矣，退居頤養，日以禪誦課心，長坐不臥。遍翻大藏，專業華嚴，以千部為期。嘗以歲旱，露跣禱祈，甘雨應時而降，萬眾交忭。癸亥秋，聖祖幸臨臺山，御書題賜，號為清涼老

人。宸藻流輝，焜燿千古。住山二十八稔，法雲遠蔭，火宅晨涼。慧日載升，重昏夜曉。宗風方暢，祖庭用光。以康熙二十六年三月九日示寂。先期集眾，告以大限十日，將從西去。勉哉修持，勿令墜失。日至，索浴，號佛不絕，端坐而化。春秋八十有七，僧臘六十有九。聖祖聞之，賜金營葬。發龕荼毗，塔于鳳林谷。設食供眾，至者四千餘人。悲聲悽響，感動林壑。戶部左侍郎蔣弘道，爲撰碑銘，勒石山阿。

(Zhencheng 鎮澄 [1547-1617], *Qingliang Shan zhi* 清涼山志, compiled in 1596, updated in 1701 under the auspices of the Kangxi emperor, edited by Master Yinguang 印光 in 1933, reproduced as *Wutai Shan zhi* 五臺山志, Yangzhou: Jiangsu Guangling Guji Keyinshe 江蘇廣陵古籍刻印社, 1997, pp. 168-169.)

Translation

Ngag dbang blo bzang[1] of the Qing[2] was a lama from Xishan, Yanjing (Beijing). His clan name was Jia.[3] As early as he was ten years old, his parents sent him to the Chongguosi monastery[4] where he became a renunciate.[5] Only at

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[1] Awanglaozang—*a* 阿 pronounced [ŋa]—transcribes Ngag dbang blo bzang.

[2] Ngag dbang blo bzang (1601-1687) flourished in the late Ming and early Qing.

[3] He seems to be a Han Chinese.

[4] For the lamasery of the Chongguosi, cf. 2.1, note 14. The Chongguosi seems to have been an important center for training non-Tibetan "lamas" under the Ming. Again, we read:

> 清老藏丹貝，蒙古大喇嘛也。初入衛籍，爲趙氏。居京師，禮崇國寺僧爲導師。又嘗師土波沙門藍建巴。始至清涼，居中頂，及羅睺，結念所依，數歲不去。後復遠涉土波、蒙古，于其國語言文字，靡不通曉。更自清涼山歸崇國寺。時清室龍興，世祖入關，定鼎燕都，褒崇佛法，雅慕高僧。己亥歲，詔眾推選清涼山住持，僉舉丹貝。庚子，卓錫茲山。辛丑，受缽蒞眾，重葺經堂。[……]生平樸質沖澹，器宇疏朗，妙解文義，兼工書法。其于學也，專事熏修，蓋息心淨行之流。以康熙二十三年五月示寂，春秋五十三，僧臘四十四。
> (Zhencheng 鎮澄 [1547-1617], *Qingliangshan zhi* 清涼山志, pp. 169-170.)

Blo bzang bstan pa'i (Blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan?) of the Qing was a Mongol high lama (*dalama*). Earlier, he became naturalized in one of the Guards [of the Ming state] (*ru weiji*). He adopted the [Chinese] clan name Zhao and sojourned in the [Ming] capital (Beijing) where he revered a monk at the Chongguosi monastery as his mentor. He also studied with the Tibetan monk (*Tubo shamen*) Lanjianba (Mo. *ramǰamba* < Tib. *rab*

'byams pa "learned; title of a degree"). When he first came to Mt. Wutai, he resided at the Middle Peak (Zhongtai) and the Rāhula Temple. He remained there (i.e., Mt. Wutai), a place to which his mind had been always attached, for a number of years. He then traveled far into Tibet and Mongolia and mastered the languages and scripts of these countries. Later, he returned to the Chongguosi from Mt. Wutai. At that time the Qing rose to power and the Shizu emperor entered China and founded a new dynasty based in Yandu (i.e., Beijing). The emperor honored Buddhism and admired eminent monks. In 1659, the emperor decreed the Buddhist clerics to recommend a candidate for the abbotship of [the Qingliang monastery of] Mt. Wutai. [The members] unanimously nominated Blo bzang. In 1660, Blo bzang came to reside in Mt. Wutai. In 1661, he assumed abbotship and had the halls of scriptures (*jingtang*) renovated. [... ...] Blo bzang was of an unassuming deportment and genial disposition. He, not only had subtle insight in the scriptures, also excelled in calligraphy. As for spiritual practice, he focused on habituating himself to the scriptural teachings and self-examination. He seemed to belong to those who practised the ceasing of [unwholesome] thoughts and the purifying of deeds. He passed away in June 1684 at age 53. His age as a monk was 44.

Blo bzang bstan pa'i [rgyal mtshan] (1632-1684) was a Mongol who had adopted a Chinese clan name. In other words, before he became a "lama", he had already become a "Chinese". He may be identified with Luobuzangdanba 羅卜藏丹巴 who authored the ten-fascicle *New Record of the Cool Mountain* (*Qingliangshan xinzhi* 清涼山新志) in Manchu (*Cing liyang šan alin-i ice jy bithe*) which was printed in 1701. A one-volume manuscript of the text is kept in the Dalian 大連 Library (Huang Runhua-Qu Liusheng eds., *Quanguo Manwen tushu ziliao lianhe mulu*, Beijing: Shumu Wenxian Chubanshe, 1991, p. 226). So far, I have not been able to gain access to this valuable text.

[5] Ch. *shami*, Tib. *dge tshul*.

age 18 did he become fully ordained.[6] With outstanding talents unsurpassed by his fellow monks, he studied the Vedas and Yoga.[7] He awakened his latent wisdom on his own and attained [through intuition] the truth of emptiness. He was able to grasp the contents of Tibetan and Chinese scriptures at one glance. He also attended lectures and had listened to all kinds of profound meanings. He was thoroughly well versed in the threefold secret[8] and mandala rituals. He was an acclaimed adept in the five tantras.

When the Great Qing Dynasty was founded, in the first year of Shunzhi (1644), he was summoned by decree to the imperial city. While he was among five monks taking an oath at the same altar, there a mahātma (*shangshi*) suddenly stared at them and said: "Here, we have a lord of Mt. Wutai." Everyone was lost, not comprehending what was meant by these words. Coming to 1659, it turned out indeed that Ngag dbang blo bzang, because he was conversant in both Tibetan and Chinese, was selected to head [the monasteries of] Mt. Wutai to revise [the translation of] Tibetan and Chinese scriptures. Many errors found in

[6] Ch. *shou ju*, Tib. *bsnyen par rdzogs pa.*

[7] The "Vedas", in the present context, simply refers to the study of [Sanskrit or Tibetan] phonetics.

[8] Ch. *sanmi*, Tib. *gsang ba gsum*, a profound accomplishment involving body, speech and mind.

previous translations were rectified by him.[9] The prophecy of the mahātma thus became true.[10]

Since his appointment, the monasteries on the mountain flourished again. He lived frugally [so that there was always extra money for him] to help the poor. He enlightened many who came to study with him. He worked diligently to amend scriptures that were not complete. Throughout his life, he owned neither a robe nor an alms-bowl. He traveled easily carrying only a brass-bound staff and had no worries in his mind[11], in accordance with the correct view that all that exists is essentially void. He responded to whatever that came to him in an equal manner[12] and resolved all entanglements. By riding the Five Vehicles and opening the Gate leading to the Eight Sacred Paths, he saved those drowning and protected those perishing. When Miao Tong and Li Jiayou, both holding secretarial posts at court, passed by Mt. Wutai, as soon as they met with Ngag dbang blo bzang, they revered him as their spiritual teacher. Such a friendship

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[9] One question to be asked: did the Ming court ever have any Chongguosi monk undertake a similar project?

[10] This "mahatma" apparently was a prestigious Buddhist master who served the first Manchu emperor. Unfortunately, his name is not given here.

[11] Lit., "his mind tied to nothing" (*wusuo jinian*).

[12] That is to say, he was able to see without discrimination the common nature shared by what we call "good" and "bad" which, as such, appeared to be "equal" in his mind.

between Buddhist monks and scholar-officials, comparable to that between Foyin 佛印 and Su Dongpo 蘇東坡 (1036-1101) or that between Yaoshan Weiyan 藥山惟嚴 and Li Ao 李翱 (772-841), could certainly never be established by mere chance.[13] Later, he visited the imperial court in successive years. The subtle meanings of his answers generally agreed with the emperor's thoughts and his expertise in translation matters particularly earned him imperial favor. Therefore the courtesy and veneration he received were special and the bestowals of favors and gifts on him augmented.

In 1671, he retired at age 70.[14] Training his mind everyday by meditating and reciting scriptures, he remained seated without ever lying down. Having read through the whole *Tripiṭaka*, he concentrated on the *Huayanjing* and vowed to recite the entire scripture a thousand times. Once, due to a yearlong drought, he came barefooted to pray for rain and the people rejoiced when there came immediately a rainfall.

In the autumn of 1683, Mt. Wutai was honored by the visit of the Shengzu emperor[15] who conferred on Ngag dbang blo bzang the title Qingliang Laoren

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[13] Implying that they knew each other in their past lives.

[14] He was born in 1601.

[15] This was the Kangxi emperor (r. 1662-1723).

("The Cool [Mountain's] Old Man").[16] The calligraphy left by the emperor on that occasion should glorify the mountain forever. He resided in and took care of the mountain for 28 years. Like the dharma clouds sheltering a vast area, he cooled down the house that caught fire.[17] Like the rising sun of wisdom, he dispersed the darkness of nights. He thus glorified the teaching and the abode of his spiritual forefathers.

He passed away on April 20, 1687. Prior to that date, he told the assembled community that he was leaving for the west in 10 days' time and advised everyone to practise the teaching diligently and to cling to it without ever losing it. When the day came, he required that bathing water be prepared for him. [After bathing,] he uttered the Buddha's name[18] continuously. Sitting upright, he passed away at age 87. His age as a monk (*sengla*) was 69.[19] Having heard about his death, the Shengzu emperor took care of the funeral expenses. His body was cremated and a reliquary was built in the Fenglin Valley. Some 4000 people attended the funeral. Even the woods and ravines seemed to mourn together the

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[16] Mt. Wutai is known as the Cool Mountain.

[17] "The house that caught fire" refers to the world we are living in.

[18] Buddha Amitābha. Here, again, we see the practice of the Pure Land school.

[19] Counting from the year in which he was fully ordained as a monk.

great loss. A tombstone was erected on the mountain and the inscription was composed by Jiang Hongdao, the Vice-Minister of the Interior.

CONCLUSION

Despite the replacement of Mongol Yuan rule in China with the Ming dynasty in 1368, Mongolian influences in the religious life within the Ming royal house were considerable. Most of the Ming emperors practised Tibetan Buddhism. The custom of the Mongol emperors whereby an emperor had a corresponding monk surrogate continued to be observed by the Ming emperors. The Ming patronage of Tibetan Buddhism was one of the most important factors contributing to the florescence of the religion in this period. Apart from Tibet proper and the Sino-Tibetan border regions, the religion not only gained a foothold in the capitals of the empire and in such an important cultural center as Zhejiang, it was also accepted by the Mongols, Sira Uyghurs and later, by the Manchus.

The ascendancy of Tibetan Buddhism in the international and multi-ethnic context of the 15^{th}-17^{th} centuries gave rise to a number of interesting social and cultural phenomena. Because these phenomena remain hitherto unrecognized, a number of avoidable confusions continue to crop up in studies pertaining to this period of Chinese history. These phenomena, surveyed in this study, can be summarized under the following rubrics:

(1) An increased "Tibetanization" of India in a context of religious geography.

The post-Mongol and pre-Manchu period saw the rise of Tibetan Buddhism to the highest status it could achieve, that is, as a form of Buddhism as genuine as Indian Buddhism. The Ming since the Yongle era deliberately "Tibetanized" India. In other words, the sacred land of Buddhism was shifted from India to Tibet. In non-administrative texts, Tibet is more than often referred to as India and Tibetan scriptures are referred to as Sanskrit scriptures. This was by no means due to the lack of geographical or linguistic knowledge on the part of the Chinese. The success of China's great maritime expeditions to Southeast Asia, India and Africa in the early 15th century relied on precise geographical knowledge. The "confusion" was religious and not geographic. In Ming times, "Tibet" was Tibet on the one hand and was India on the other. Failing to recognize Tibet's "India~Tibet duality" in the Ming writings, many scholars erroneously utilized some of the materials that have nothing to do with India and drew conclusions from them on India-related issues.[1]

(2) An increased "Sinicization" of Tibetan monks

This refers not to the fact that more and more Tibetans were sinicized culturally, but rather that the Chinese made up larger and larger proportion of the whole population of the so-called "Tibetan monks" in Ming China. More and

[1] A few examples are given in 1.2.6.

more "Tibetan monks" in China were in fact Chinese. The Chinese were attracted by Tibetan Buddhism mainly by its esotericism which they supposed had failed to be transmitted from India to China in the past. Already in the Yuan period, Chinese monks from the Tiantai school became disciples of Tibetan lamas in order to command tantric formulae. The Mongol Yuan government, however, prohibited the Chinese from dressing like Tibetan monks by law. In Ming times, the study of the Tibetan language and tantric formulae became such a vogue that there were more and more Chinese desired to be honored as "Tibetan masters". Some even traveled far into Tibet to study Buddhism. They bore Tibetan names and dressed like Tibetans. The Wuzong emperor (r. 1506-1521) was himself such a "lama". This was later forbidden again by the Ming government and these non-Tibetan "Tibetans" were banished to borderlands. This gave rise to a special class of lama diplomats and lama spies—who were Chinese, Mongols and Manchus—on the frontiers who played a significant role in the Sino-Mongolian and Sino-Manchu military conflicts in the 16^{th}-17^{th} centuries. On the other hand, Tibetan pilgrims continued to be active in Zhejiang and her sacred islet Putuoshan (Mt. Potalaka)—the famous site for the cult of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara—up until the late Ming despite the fact that these regions suffered from Japanese pillage throughout Ming times.[2]

As the Uyghur regions (e.g., Qoco, Qomul) became increasingly islamicized, there was an influx of Uyghur Buddhist monks to China. A Uyghur

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[2] See 3.1 and 4.3.

who had become a lama and carried a Tibetan name was often not distinguished from those who came from Tibet and, because a Tibetan monk was known as an "Indian" monk at that time, was referred to as coming from "India". On the other hand, when "Tibetan lamas" were mentioned, they were mostly Chinese who had become "lamas".

Another striking phenomenon of this period that has not been studied is what may be termed "religious duality". The eunuch admiral Zheng He (1371-1435) who led the epoch-making seafaring campaigns via the South China Seas and the Indian Ocean in 1405-1433 was of Iranian extraction (Bukhara). He was a Muslim as well as a Buddhist. He bore a religious name in Tibetan. The Wuzong emperor was also a Muslim-*cum*-Buddhist. His religious name in Tibetan was Rin chen dpal ldan. He also proclaimed the Islamic title *Shaykh 'Âlam* and even prohibited pork (the major source of meat for the Chinese) in 1519-1520. This is reminiscent of the Ilkhan Gaikhatu (r. 1291-1295) of Persia who, according to the Persian court historian Abdullah Wassaf, issued the paper money (modeled on the Chinese paper currency) which bore the Islamic creed ("There is no god except Allah and Muhammad His messenger") as well as his Tibetan religious name *Rin chen rdo rje* transcribed in Arabic.

A flexibility of ethnic identity is discernible in the Ming period. Not only that the "barbarians" from Inner Asia could become "Chinese", even a Chinese could become "Tibetan".[3]

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[3] See Chapter 4, note 73, 83, and "Appendix" of Chapter 4, note 4.

Tibetan Buddhism had become the medium of communication among the Ming Chinese, the Mongols and the Manchus when they involved in military conflicts and negotiated for a ceasefire.[4] The Ming patronage of Tibetan Buddhism also had the effect of counterbalancing the march of the religious force of Islam in Central Asia.[5]

The rise of Tibetan Buddhism in the Ming period must be seen as part of the far-reaching impact of the short-lived Mongol power in China and Tibet. Therefore I have presented a case that may help to better appraise to what extent the rise of the Mongols changed the course of or helped shape later trends of politico-religious history in the region.

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[4] See 4.2.

[5] Mazahéri even writes: "[... ...] ce serait pour diviser les barbares que les Ming auraient en quelque sorte favorisé les progrès du lamaïsme parmi les Mongols, arrêtant en même temps, la conversion à l'Islam de toute nation ouïgoure, puisqu'il reste, à l'heure actuelle, un petit groupe de Sari-Ouïgours." See Aly Mazahéri, *La route de la soie*, Paris: S. P. A. G. (Papyrus), 1983, p. 210.

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